

ALLARME

To England, foreshew-
ing what perilles are pro-
cured, where the people liue
without regarde of Marti-
all lawe.

With a short discourse contey-
ning the decay of warlike discipline, con-
uenient to be perused by Gentlemen, such as are
desirous by seruice, to seeke their owne de-
serued prayse, and the preservation of their
country. Newly deuised and writ-
ten by Barnabie Riche
Gentleman.

Malui me diuitem esse quam vocari.

Perused and allowed.

1578.



To the right honorable Syr Christopher Hatton, Knight, Captaine of her Maiesties Garde, Vicechamberlayne to her Highnes, and one of her Maiesties most honourable priuie Counsayll, Barnabe Rychewiseth long and happie lyfe, with increase of Honour, as your Noble heart both desireth and deserueth.



HE common and vulgare sorte of people (Right Honorable) are accustomed to estimate and valewe of such thinges as shall happen to their sight, more rather according to the credit and opinion that they haue conceyued in the authour, then for the substance or matter of that is cyther sayde, or written.

For better prooffe I could alleadge sundrie examples, but leauing many others, this fable may suffice (fayned by the Poetes) of the man, which by the consent of all the goddes, was deemed for his feature in euery proportiō to be so pure and perfect, that with one generall verditte they all commended him to bee without any maner imperfection.

In the ende *Momus* taking the vewe of this goodly personage, and thoroughly perusing the excellencie of this creature, perceyued yet one faute which all the rest had missed: which was, that there wanted a windowe in his brest, through which his thoughtes might bee looked into, whereby might be seene what there remayned within him.

Meaning that there were no man that almost might be founde, howe comely so euer he was in his personage, how gallantly so euer he went in his apparell, howe smoothly so euer he could speake with his tongue, howe demurely so euer he seemed in countenance, nor howe plausible so euer he appeared in his other demeanours, yet if his secrette thoughtes might be seene into, and that the priuities of his heart might be thoroughly considered of, there is no doubt, but there would be founde some great corruption yet remayning.

If this faute had bene founde by *Pallas* or *Apollo*, questionlesse it would haue bene registred amongst the sayinges and sentences of the wise: but proceeding from him whome they rather had in contempt, then esteemed in any credit, it was reputed to be but a mocke and a scorne.

I haue here (right Honourable) rashly and aduenterously taken vpon me to become a writer, wherein a great number (I knowe) will

The Epistle dedicatorie.

likewise condemne me, and the rather considering my simplicitie & trayning vp, which hath not bene so much with my penne, but more with my pyke, nor in the scholes amongst learned clarkes, but rather in the fields amongst vnletered companions, or as some will terme them, amongst a company of rustike souldiers.

Wherefore most humbly I desire your Honour to accept of these my slender trauayles in good parte, the which I do here present vnto you with my simple seruice during my lyfe, to be at your Honorable disposition: And although I do know both the one and the other to be to farre insufficient to be presented vnto you, yet though not according to mine owne deseruing, eyther for the vlew of that I haue written, yet according to your accustomed clemencie and goodnes, that you would vouchsafe to protect and shroud them with your fauourable countenance, whereby they may be made more acceptable to the readers, and be the better welcome to such as shall peruse them.

I do here omitte to follow the order of some writers, which is with great circumstance to blase the vertues of such as they choose to be patrons of their workes: for what may bee sayde sounding more to your aduancement, then what your selfe haue already gayned, whose noblenes hath not onely aduanced you to so great honour, but also in euery mans iudgement hath made you to be deemed worthie to enioye it?

But I may not here omit, that amongst other honorable roomes whereto you haue bene called, what a president you haue begunne, whereby our captaines of Englande may learne and gather light.

I meane where her Maiestie hath worthily appointed you to bee Captayne of a worthy bande, what care and consideration you haue euer had, aswell of the maners and conditions, as otherwise of the personage and abilitie of any one that you would permit, whereby her Maiestie is guarded with a bande of men, not onely indued with actiuitie, but also with honestie.

Howe much they be bound to your Honour, that was the onely meane to her Maiestie, for the amending of their pay, whereby they are made the better able to do her seruice, I leaue for them selues to reporte, and do but onely wishe that our Captaynes of Englande would by your Honorable example, take such light, whereby they might be made the more renowned.

Thus desiring your Honour to pardon my boldnes & simplicitie, I humbly take my leaue.

Your humble and obediēt seruant,
Barnabe Rychē.

To the gentle and friendly Reader.



Allarmes (gentle Reader) as they are giuen upon di-
uerse and sundrie occasions, so they are many times
offred as wel by friends as foes.
By foes to further their pretences when they practise
to deceyue: by friends, but to see howe they be prepa-
red, and in what readines they stande. Who if they
shall be negligent or unprouided, to giue them as it
were a friendly caueat, hereafter to vse greater circumspection and care.

I haue in like maner aduentured to giue a friendly warning, the which I
haue termed by the name of an Allarme, wherein, I knowe, there be a great
number wil confesse I haue bewrayed mine owne simplicitie, in that I should
thinke to giue any Allarme to those that stande in doubt neither of King nor
Keyser.

But because I would not be thought to arrogate so great presumption to
my selfe, I haue rather but vsed the parte of some poore bel ringer, or of some
other inferiour person, that sometymes being more afrayde then hurt, hath
rong the larme bell, or hath runne through the campe in great haste, crying,
Arme, arme, arme, wherewith euery one hath runne to his furniture, and being
prepared to make defence, seeking on euery side where the foe should make
assault, it hath in the ende fallen out, that the poore man was but stared in his
owne conceyte, or else afrayde of some shadowe in the Mooneshine. Now it may
be likenyse, that I am but afrayde of myne owne shadowe, the which if it be so,
my simplicitie yet ought the rather to be borne withal, considering it procee-
deth of good wil that I beare to my countrey.

But what excuse might seeme here sufficient, wherewith to auoyde me from
so many quipping tauntes, which I knowe wil be pronounced against me, by our
carping canillers, such as wil be correcting of euery mans doing? Some wil find
faulre with my homely manner of inditing, and wil say, This is no good sense, or
this is no true Englishe, here he hath bene something too tedious, and this mat-
ter asked longer circumstance, this manner of phrase is but bad, and by this he
shewed his eloquence was but small, and here it is not well poynted, and so forth
with many other faulces, I know not what.

Wherefore I would these superficial heades would take this for myne an-
swere, that what I haue written, it hath not bene to prooue my selfe artificall
or eloquent, but to shewe things more needfull, which I haue noted by expe-
rience.

Some others there be, which are of such excellent memorie, that there is no-
thing may be written which they do not already knowe, and wil say, This is but
borrowed in such a place, and this I haue read in this or in that booke.

To the gentle Reader.

Surely I must confesse I haue used the helpe of sundrie writers, but not of so many as I would haue done, if I had bene in place where I might haue come by them: for what I haue written, was onely done in Ireland, where there is no great choyce of booke to be had.

But what then? Is this sufficient cause to condemne what I haue written? is not the bee accustomed to gather out of euery flower what liketh her best, wherewith she maketh hony? Or I pray you, what is the medicine the worse, although the Physition be sometimes driuen to borowe a handful of herber out of his neighbours garden, shal his composition be any thing the vnwholesomer, because the simples were not at his owne?

There is yet an other sorte, that because they thinke it a shame to reade ouer any thing, & not to be able to minister some correctiō, because they wil not be thought to be so dul witted, wil finde some fault, if it be but with the Orthographie, and wil say, It was pitie this man would take in hande to write before he could spell.

To these I answer, As great folly might be ascribed to those that were their bringers vp, that would learne them to goe, before they had taught them to speake well.

But such is the delicacie of our readers at this time, that there are none may be allowed of to write, but such as haue bene trained at schoole with Pallas, or at the least haue bene fostered up with the Muses, and for my parte (without vaunt be it spoken) I haue bene a traualyer, I haue sayled in Grauesende Barge as farre as Billings gate, I haue traualyed from Buckelers bery to Balingstocke, I haue gone from S. Pankeridge church to Kentish towne by lande, where I was combed with many hedges, ditches, and other slippery bankes, but yet I could neuer come to those learned bankes of Helicon, neither was I euer able to scale Parnassus hyl, although I haue traualled ouer Gaddes hyl in Kent, and that sundrie tymes and often.

No marueill then good reader, although I want such sugered sape, wherewith to sauce my sense, whereby it might seeme delightfull vnto thee: such curious Coxcombes therefore, which can not daunce but after Apollos pype, I wish them to cease any further to reade what I haue written: but thou which

canst endure to reade in homely style of matters, more behoouefull

and necessarie, then eyther curiouse or fyled, goe thou forward on Gods name, and I doubt not, but by that time

thou hast perused to the end, thou shalt find

some thing to satisfie thy desire, whereby

thou wilt confesse that al thy labour

hath not bene bestowed in

vayne. And thus I bid

thee hartily Fare

well.

To the valiant Captaynes and renowned Souldiours of Englande, Barnabe Riche
wistheth for their better encouragement, en-
crease of credit, estimation and necessarie
maintenance, according to their
due desertes.



Lthough (right noble Captaynes and wor-
thie Souldiours) I may seeme too rashe and
bolde to enter into those discourses so farre
surpassing my capacitie, the which I knowe I
haue finished not according as the argument
hath required, but according as the slendernes of my skyll
would permit me: yet I protest, I haue not taken in hand to
write, for any vayne glory or presumption in my selfe, but
rather to incite some one amongst you, that is more able &
sufficient, to performe a greater enterprise, to a much better
perfection: and for my parte, I haue but vsed the office of
the meanest labouring man, & (as it were) haue but brought
lyme and stone together, wherewith the master worke-
man maye erecte his building in braue and sumptuous
sorte.

Thus crauing pardon for this my bolde attempt, I sub-
mit altogether what I haue done to your noble iudge-
mentes, to correcte and amende what you shall see needfull
and requisite. And thus I rest, yours to dispose

Barnabe Riche.

To my very louing friend

Captaine Barnabe Rychē.



Haue perused your booke, as farre as the shortnes of the tyme would suffer me: which was not so farre by a great deale as I gladlyest would, if it might haue longer continued with me. Your trauaile and good mynde most iustly deserueth in my opinion, both thanks and commendations of all your countrey men. I wish with all my heart it may so be accepted of those, in whose handes the only remedie lyeth, that some good order may be deuised for the reliefe and encouragement of such vertuouse myndes as are contented with the expens of their bloud to benefite their countrey. Which kinde of men aboue all others, ought most to be esteemed as the very sinowes and strength of euery common weale, howe mighty or wealtheie so euer thee be. For according to the opinion of a late learned writer, *Pertinet autem maxime ad Reipub. fortitudinem, uti milites peritos & exercitatos habeat. Sic enim & tranquilla vita fructus, & a terroribus tumultibusq. vacua erit.* The onely strength of euery common wealthe is, To haue skilfull and well trayned souldiers: so shall they liue in happines, being free from all kinde of terrour and tumult. And agayne, *Dum belli furor insurgit, hostisq. Reipub. bonis occupandis misit, coram in manibus Reipub. Salus, Religio, Fides, Libertas est reposita.* When the rage of warres doth suddainly burst out, and the enemy at hand, gaping for the spoyle of the countrey, then both Safety, Religion, Faith and Libertie resteth wholly in the hande of the souldiours: who are the onely terrour to the enemy, defende their countrey from present danger, and bring the common wealth to safetie and quietnes. But our countrey hath alwayes had that faute (and I am afrayde will neuer be without it) of being vnaturall and vnthankfull to such as with their great hazard, paynes and charges haue sought to attayne to the knowledge of armes, by which thee is chiefly mainteyned, succoured and defended. To bring one example amongst thousands. What a number was there of noble Gentlemen, and worthy souldiours, that in the dayes of that victorious prince King Henry the fifth (after the honourable behauing of them selues, as well at Agincourt, as other places, to the discomfiture and vter ouerthrowe of the whole Chivalry of Fraunce) returning to their countrey, were pitifully constrained (& which was in deede most miserable) in their olde and honourable age for very want and necessitie to begge, whyle a great number of vnworthie wretches that lyued at home, enioyed all kindes of felicities. That Noble Gentleman Syr William Drurie a Paragon of armes at this day, was wont (I remeber) to say, that the souldiers of England had alwaies one of these three endes to looke for: To be slayne, To begge, or To be haged. No doubte a gentle recompence for such a merit. Yet want there not some, y dare affirme it a vayne burde to a comon wealthe, to mainteine souldiers, as the comon disturbers & hinderers of publike peace. Such a one was sometime Syr Thomas More, who hauing more skyll in sealing of a writte, then surueying of a Campe, was not ashamed most vnwiseiy to write (if I may so speake of so wyse a man) that the commō labourer of Englands, taken from the plowe, was hee, that when it came to the matter, dyd the deede: whose goodly seruice in tyme of neede, is better knowen then I neede to speake of. But what hath this Realme gayned by her small accompt of souldiers? Shee hath of barbarous people bene foure or fyue tymes inuaded and ouer-runne. I pray God the last be not neerer then men looke for. It is not money nor multitude of men that in extremetie preuayleth, but skyll and experience that safely mainteyneth and preferueth. Rome, whyle shee maynteyned her souldiours, was mystresse and commandresse of the whole world: but when shee fell to her owne delicacies, and neglecting of them, she became not only a triumphe, and contempt to the

sude

Aide Vandale and barbarous *Goths*, but as yet shee remaines a spectacle of miserable
 ruine to the vniuersall world. Wee haue a number of Captaynes, such as neuer came
 yet vnder enseigne in their life: happy shall that realme be, that shall haue neede of
 such expert souldiours, but most vnhappy and vniust men that dare challenge to them
 selues the place of so great a charge. Souldiers ynough we haue that in time of peace
 can range their battailes, cast out their skirmishes, assault townes, and coquer king-
 domes, that a man would iudge them at the first sight, for very *Hectors* and *Hanni-*
balles. But these be they, (I knowe not how it happeneth) that are the first that wil be
 gone, when they come to it. We haue on the other side, a number of good captaynes,
 who by their skilfull experience, are well able to trayne and leade a gallant companie
 of souldiours, who perceyuing their colde entertaynement, do dayly (as no man can
 blame them) abandon, and vtterly renounce their profession, or serue in other places
 where they should not. These disorders and great numbers more, your booke (if it
 continew according to that part that I haue seene) will sufficiently lay out at large,
 and with his larum awake (I trust) the mindes of those, in whose handes it lyes to re-
 dresse them: whether it do or do not, your well doing deserueth of all men to be em-
 braced, that haue with learned authorities, and sufficient eloquence, done what in you
 lyeth to mooue it: the rest is to be supplied by him, that being of that Maiestie, vouch
 safeeth, in signe of his well liking of so noble a profession, to be called by the name of
Dominus exercituum, the Lord of Armies. And thus with my hartie thankes, I sende
 you your booke agayne. From Kingstone in haste.

Your assured friende,

Barnabe Googe.

Lodowick Flood in the behalfe of the Authour.

MArch forth with Mars, clap collets on, ring larum loud apace,
 strike on the drum, sound out the trumpe, desie your foes in face.
 Shake Morphens of, set Latia by, flee Bacchus bankets fro,
 Minne Ceres feat, let Venus be, to Mars your seruice shewe.
 In India loiterers were looked to, in Egypt youth were taught,
 and in Lacena idle men, as men suspect were caught.
 With sword & shield, in warlike weeds the Romans Mars obeyed,
 eche Martial seate the Grekes to Mars, in moost Olympus played.
 Had Pyrrhus prayse bin pend in bookes, had Alexander fame,
 had Phrygia fieldes such fame by blood, had Mars not spred the
 Scipio got by Hannibal prayse, by Pompey Cesar fame: (same?
 by Hector stout, Achilles strong, dyd swim his noble name.
 What worthie Cyrus gaynd by warres, what noble Minus swanne,
 that Sardanapalus lost by sloth, euen from thassyrans than.
 What noble courage doth attempt, what haughtie heartes do swimme,
 that sluggish mindes do lose againe, as had no conquest binne.
 A coward vile, a dastard he, that dares not marche in fiede,
 whom dread of greel by gine may daunt, to leaue both speare & shield
 What greater glory can be got, what greater prayse be swonne,
 then Curtius seates or Decius deedes, to do as they haue done?

* * .i.

Darius

Darius wisht Zopyrus like, to haue but twentie men,
 and Agamemnon wisht againe, to haue but Nestors terme,
 Whereby that Troy and Ilion proud, by Nestors wisdomme woonne,
 and by Zopyrus brought to ground, the pryde of Persia done.
 One subtle Simon with some sleight, like Aathenes one to be
 is better then a thousand such, that bragges and boist and flee.
 Then pace this path the tracte is playne, that Riche hath troden out,
 and leades thee lightly to the place, where honour should be sought.
 Sith Riche of right dyd runne this race, and painted forth with pen,
 his trauaill tryed commend you must to Mars and to his men:
 And geue of right to Riche his prayse, that rings the larum bell,
 enroll his name, record his fame, and say to Richefar well.

Thomas Churchyard Gen- tleman, in commendation of this worke.

*His orthographie
 and maner of
 writing obserued.*



If chylde that goes to skool, dyd any warning tack
 att fellows fawtts who feels the rod (whē they offence do maek)
 him self shuld skaep the skorge, and construe many a lyen
 and lawghe to skorn the whisking whyp, thatt maeks the skol-
 lars whyen

But neyther chylde nor man, wyll warnyng tack youe se
 tyll tempest coms wyth thonder crak, & stryeks down staetly tre

owre nebors howse a fyre, byds wyes to loek a bowtt
 and raek vpp coells in imbers cloes, and putt the candell owtt
 least sparkulls creep in strawe, and smotheryng smoek a ryes
 and styeffull sylly sleepyng Soells, in bed that caerles lyes
 The warrs att hand we heer, maeks hollowe peace to bloeshe
 byds call for warrs and coetts off steell, to stand and byed the poeshe
 A man who long gyvs aem, may shoett hym self att leynth
 A heddy hors must corbed be, by connyng or by streynth
 A wyelly wykked world, byd wantton heds bewaer
 Whatt needs moer words when peace is craket, for lusty warrs prepaer
 loes not your old renouyn, O baebz off bryttayn blood
 Dance afftter drom, lett tabber goe, the musyck is nort good
 that maeks men loek lyek gyrlls, and mynce on earpayts gaye
 as thoghe mayd marryon mentt to march, and luen shuld bryng in May
 The sounnd off trompett suer, wyll change your maydens face
 to loek lyek men or lyons whelpps, or tygers in the chace
 A gallant stoering hors, thatt maeks a manneg ryght
 wear fyttter than a lady fyen, for myghtty marslys Knight
 The warrs for marshall mynds, and peace for Venus men
 The sword and soldior best agrees, the lawyer for the pen
 The warrs calls corraeg vpp, and peace breeds cowards styll
 maeks peple prowde, dystroyes greatt hartts, and pampers wantton wyll
 peace prowls a bowtt for pence, and warrs the mock wyll spend

Tho. Ch. in the behalfe of the Authour.

that greedy gayn hords vp in hoells, god knoes to lyttell end
the wealth that peace doth bring, maeks many a myscheeff ryeff
and peace rons hedlong in to vyce, and warrs refforms leawd lyeff
for fear off sword or shot, mans mynd loeks throwe the starrs
the hartt sawlls flatt beffoer hys face, that maeks boeth peace and warrs
the noghtty natuerd wyghtt, by warrs is broghtt in fraem
the baddest puts on better mynd, the wyeldest waxeth taem
peace fills the land wyth pomp, thatt gyvs a pryuey wownd
feeds folly fatt, maeks vertue lean, and floods off vyce a bownd,
Daem luit her pleasuer tacks, in peace and banketts sweett
and warrs doth quenche owr hott desyers, and dawitts the dallyng spreett
in warrs we honor wyn, on peace reproetche doth groe
and warrs contentts owr noblest frynds, and peace doth pleas owr foe
peace putts vp sondry wrongs, and warrs doth ryght mentayn
and suer a battayll is well lost, thatt doth a kyngdom gayn
To feyght in forrayn soyll, apawlls the enmyes pryed
and better fare abroed to martch, than heer the brontt to byed
nott many hold with peace, thoghe warrs is cald a shreawe
nor many aer by peace maed ryech, for wealth butt sawlls to feawe
and thoes thatt thryvs by peace, aer syen and full off sleightt
who taketh owtt off measuer styll, and gyvs agayn by weyghtt
yff any wyn by warrs (as dyuers do in deed)
they loes the saem agayn by peace, thus peace myslyek doth breed
for peace restoers the goods, thatt warre haeth conquerd well
yelds vpp the fortts, gyvs back perfforce, the towns whearin we dwell
and warr trayns soldyors vpp, (whych keeps the world in awe)
putts rebells down, mentayns good men, thatt styll vpholds the lawe
When Roem soghtt warrs from hoem, in peace the staett remaynd
when common wealth wyth peace was cloyd, proude peple peace dysdaynd
This peace I do compaer, to calmye wether fayre
thatt smoethly loeks tyll doskye clowds, haue clean oercast the ayre
butt when the stordy storms, rons rattling throwe the skyes
The rack goes swyfft the clowds wax dark, and ragyng wynds aries
and teares vpp trees by roetts: sutch store a tempest macks
thatt att the clapp, lowe caues of earth, and highest heauen shacks
warre is nott liek to thys, whear baddest warre youe fynd
butt peace moer liek a swellinge soer, thatt festers sowndest mynd
and so bursts owtt in byells, in botch or vlcers greate
whych veters by thear smokyng fuem, a cuerles inward heatt
lett peace gyue place to warre, off force hytt must be foe
off force the gallantts off this land, must needs a warrfaer goe
Thoghe stowttnes striue youe se, the quarrell is the staetts
thatt steps in to thoes bloody broylls, by feyghtt to end debaetts
admitt thatt myllions dye, and perishe on the playn
in pryncys cawse and conttreys ryghtt, thear must be thowsandes slayn
To hold thosenmyes short, and mack our manhoed known
whoes value in our elders dayes, a boutt the world was blown.
and we wear vyctors cald, and feard off forrayn foe
wheare now transformd to wemens wylls, liek carpett knightes we goe
O Eangland loek thoue back, whatt noble elders did
shall strangers braggys & boests gyue fear, to boldnes god forbyd
Thyen honour so wear staynd. Than pluck vpp corraeg nowe
and waeth away thatt syetfull spott, that blotts thy noble browe

To gyue thy soldyours lyeff, this booke is muelly maed
 by oen who can for conttreys cause, wel vse boeth pen and blaed
 Accept hys willing work, gyue other corraeg to
 (by fauryng thatt is worthy prayes) the lyek off this to doe
 Thys settis forth many greeffs, and fercheth soudry foers
 not fraemd to fawn and flatter world, a soldyor that a boers
 Loek for the lyek in haest, from me yf layser wyll
 and thatt youe pleas to tack in worth, the payns of barrayn quyll.

S. Stronge, in the behalfe of the Authour.

IF painfull pilgryme for his toyle, deserves a guerdon due
 In seeking of the sacred sorte, which vertue doth pursue:
 Or if the wakeful warche in warre, do merit like reward,
 Or cunning pylot that with skill, doth take his due regard,
 To cut in twayne the billowes huge, that swell in Ocean sea,
 And keepe the keele aright his course, tyll wished port he wray:
 Then (Ritche) that rings this laryn bell, to warne his countreyes thrall,
 And sortes (much like the busie bee) the hummy from the gall,
 Deserves no lesse, in lieu thereof: such fruite I reape thereby,
 As for my parte, a double prayse, I may him not deny.
 The toyle to him no profit yeelds, he bites on bitter paine:
 He hales home harvest for the chaffe, the reader reapes the graine.
 He giues the sworde and shield in hande, to shroud thee from annoy,
 He wisely warnes thee of the worse, lest foes might thee destroy:
 He treades thee out a perfect path, oh England loude I crye,
 Refuse therefore thy follies past, he sees thee goe awrye:
 And leaue of al thy lustfull lyfe, and eke thy great excessse,
 Thy dainty fare, thy fine array, and eke thy wantonnesse.
 Leau of likewise thy vsance great, and leaue thy lawing vaine,
 Lest for the present guyle thereof, there happe some future paine.
 Let God forbid but iustice should in eche thing beare the sway,
 And lawe is good where lawe is vsde, I cannot this deny.
 But so your Common lawes are coust, at will of every pelth,
 That common is the woe (God knowes) but priuate is the wealth.
 Do sorte thy selfe from Comedies, and foolish playes of loue,
 Lest tragicall and worse perhaps in fine thee chauce to proue.
 Take sword in hand, and leaue of ease, for now the tyme is come,
 The bell is rung, the trumpettes sound, all arme doth strike the drome.
 And thanke good (Ritch) that rings the same, to wake thee out of sleepe,
 That thou thy selfe, that liest at peace, in safetie still mightst keepe.
 A irwel ritche and gemme of price, the same no doubt doth seme,
 A ritche gifte for thy behoofe, he could not geue, I deeme.

Thomas

Thomas Lupton, in commendation of this worke.

What beter thing, then perilles to preuent?
What danger more, then careles still to sleepe?
Then ist not good, in peace for to frequent
The thing that vs from force of foes may keepe?
What harme in heate, to make for colde a hooode?
The Anteprouides, in sommer wynters foode.

Therefore who lothes his losse and countreyes spoyle,
Let him peruse this booke with griedie mynde,
Which utters howe his foe may haue the foyle,
And eke what hurt through want of skill we finde.
And thanke thou Riche, that giues this larum bell,
A richer giste, he could not giue thee well.

The Authour to the reader, why he tooke in hand to write this booke.

In doleful dumpes of deepe despayre, and vnaacquainted syt,
With troubled head but here of late, I chaunced for to syt,
reuoluing what reuenge the goddes doe yeld to those of right,
that haue their godheds in disdaine, or yet contemnes their might:
What iustice Ioue did rightly vse, and Iuno also shoswe
on Priams race for Paris fact, the Trojans all did knowe.
Acteon felt Dianas force, shee yelded him for hyre:
and what it is for mortall men, to moue the gods to yre
Parcellus may a mirrour be, of Venus scourge to such
as haue her darlings in disdaine, or at her lawes will grutch.
The Spider shewes howe vaine it is, to such as will contemne,
and Piers daughters for like fact, the Muses did condemne.
And Bacchus byrdes had dewe reward, for that they would despise,
and what reuengement hath bene vsde by Ceres may suffice.
Though I omit a numbre mo, that here I could recite,
who for contemning of the gods, haue felt their force and might:
But here my muse is in a maze, my senses all do shake,
my fainting wits do faile for feare, my quivering quill both quake,
To blaze the bloody broyles of Mars, the mightie god of warre,
wherewith he plagues such rebels stout, as at his lawes will snarre.
Howe he doth scourge the carelesse crewe, that liues deuoid of awe,
in secure sort without regard of Mars or martiall lawe,

The Authour to the Reader.

Lecker cost is
good chere.

No stories strange I need recite a hundred yeres forepast,
but such as chaunce in the e our dayes, and at this houre doth last.
Let Holland make discourse at large, if I haue said amisse,
whose state sometime in all respects, surmounted most in blisse.
Whose towncs were seated in such sort, by nature framed so strong,
as no assault of foraine foe, might do them sodaine wrong.
No want of welth might work their woe, no come with the was scāt,
of shippes great store in euery port, no pleasure they did want.
They lijd at ease in byle exceile, they sought for (Lecker cost)
their paunches stult with double beere, was that they carde for most.
They honoured Bacchus as their god, and Cereus had her dewe,
but as for Mars they knew not him, they were not of his crewe.
they scorned to learne the lawes of armes, their countrey to defend,
they lijd in peace, which as they thought, should neuer haue an end.
But mighty Mars, who long had winkte, & bozne with their contempt
perceiuing that from him and his, them selues would stil exempt,
To teach such rebels to resist, his godhed did deuise
a straunge reuenge, yf wisely waid: for whom they did despise,
And whom they held in most contempt, euen they did rule the roste,
and such had them at their command, as they despised most.
Loe here of Mars the iudgement iust, prepared but of right,
that those which had both him and his, but late in such despight,
Those that disdaigned all martiall swightes, & scorned to learne their lawe
by martiall might were soone suppress, and brought to liue in awe.
Of men of warre by bowe profest, a troupe of Mars his traine,
though numbre small more haughtie heartes, came neuer out of spaine
And these were planted in their towncs, throughout in euery place,
and souldiers now prescribd them lawes, a woofull altered case.
They waid the sword where they became, for who durst them resist?
they tooke their liues as they thought good, & pardoned whom they list
Their liues & goodes were at command, their coyne at spaniards call,
their birgins faire, their married wiues, the spaniards held as thrall.
their scutes must scouze with friskers fraught who spaniards must co-
their waggans troude with lully frowes, that neuer made it coy. (uoy)
Their husbonds they must be content, they durst not seeke redresse:
the spaniards held them in good awe, their deedes did shew no lesse.
A hundreth Spanyardes in a towne would gouerne thousandes free,
the Hollanders were men of peace, they lojd not they to strue.
Good men they tooke all in good part, but if they hapt to quarrell,
their strife at first was kird about, that (Shellam) in the barrell.
But though of Holland all this while, my tale hath bene pretended,
yet other places in like case, with Holland haue offended,
And haue with Holland felt the scourge, of Mars his force and might
where with he dauntes the rebel route, that hath him in despight.
Hath Seland thinke you scaped free, let flanders make report.
let Brabant bragge what gaines they get, that liues in secure sort.
But Antwerpe thou thy woofull wracke, thy spoyle hath proued plain
where

The Authour to the Reader.

Where martiall mindes do want, no state in safety may remaine.
 For thou that sometime didst excel, whose wealth did so abound,
 whose daily trasspique did surmount, whose like might not be found,
 whose streets with marchants so did swarm, who by their painful toill
 did bring their gooddes by sea and land, from euery foraine soyle.
 Of Europe thou the storhouse rich, wert sometime cald by name,
 in wealth I say a pereleuse picce, so passing was thy fame.
 Thy houses built in brauest sort, with walles enuironed round,
 a platforme of a greater force, might not in haste be found.
 Artillery both great and small, abundant was thy store,
 for armour, weapon, powder, shot, what should I speake of more?
 For all provisions for the warre, great store thou didst possesse,
 thou nought didst want but martial mindes, the sequel shewd no lesse.
 For thou ne durst at all contend, what Spaniardes would gaine say. A slot is a castel.
 thou paydst for building of a slot, that wrought thy owne decay.
 In bondage thus at Spaniardes call, thy selfe thou didst bequest,
 by meanes whereof thy store became, a scourge to all the rest.
 What did insue is to well known, I need not here expresse,
 I rewe thy soracke, but yet I say, thou didst deserue no lesse.
 For hadst thou trained but halfe the troupe, to bin of Mars his traine,
 that practis'd dayly to be drinke, in Bacchus beastly baine:
 Or hadst thou spent but halfe the pelfe, to maintaine martiall swightes
 that was consumed in vile excess, by Bacchus drunken knightes,
 What keyser could haue wrought thy woe, what prince haue done thee
 what foraine foe haue thee annoyd, thy force had bene so strong: (wrog
 But Mars might be of no accompt, thou knewest no such a god,
 his lawes were neuer cald to mind, before thou felt his rod.
 Who will not here confesse a trueth, that all thy spoyle and soracke,
 was but for want of martiall mindes: thou hadst no other lacke.
 For better prooffe this may suffice, to such as will confesse
 a trothe apparant to be true, what should I more expresse
 When this, the spoyle the Spaniardes gaue to Antwerpe in such sort,
 that all the world doth wonder yet to heare the true report:
 Five thousand Spaniardes at the most, by force in bloody broyle,
 should so subdue a famous towne, and beare away the spoyle.
 Where such provision of defence, in store did so abound,
 where hundred thousands able men were dayly to be found.
 Ynough to eate the Spaniardes vp, had they bene bakte in pyes,
 or had bene brewed in double beere, because the Flemings gyes
 Do better serue to drinke then eate, the Spaniardes had bene dead,
 they would haue drinke them all by quite, without a byt of bread.
 But here ynough to make my prooffe, and stil of this be sure:
 Where Mars is had in no accompt, no state may long endure.
 May rebels (thinke you) scape his scourge, may such contempt go quite
 will Mars the mightie god of warre be had in such despight?
 No no, he may deferre a time, ere he reuengement take:
 but in the end he payes them home, the stoutest then doth quake.

The Author to the Reader.

O England would thou didst regard, what plagues in time do hap
to such as so without respect are iuld in pleasures lap,
And feares no force of future firs, that after may ensue,
till dangers doe beset them round, and then to late to rue.
And would to God by others harmes, thou mightst so warned be,
that thou into thine owne estate, wouldest vouchsafe to see.
And tel me then yf Mars be had in hondur like a god,
yf not, how thinkest thou to escape the rigour of his rod?
May peace procure so great contempt, and alter kind so farre,
that yt should make thee quite forget there is a god of warre?
Shal martiall seates be stil neglect, as though we were so sure,
that this our time of pleasant peace, should euermore endure?
Would God it might, but so to wish, I know is but in vaine,
our foes are ready prest no doubt, they seeke but time to gaine.
What though in secret yet they lie, who knowes not why they stay?
their quarrell is not now to seeke, they hope but for a day.
Loe here the cause that brged me first, to take in hand to wright
this blunt discourse, good reader, here presented to thy sight.
Which yf thou wilt vouchsafe to read, do iudge as thou shalt finde:
goue sentence then, and I wil mend, yf ought mislike thy minde.

FINIS.

Felix quem faciunt aliena pericula cautum.

10 JY 61

The first parte entreating of warre.



Doubt not, but a great number wil thinke
I haue taken paynes more then ynough, to
write of warres, or of warlike disciplines.
First, because warres haue euer bin accom-
pted a most grieuouse plague, and of it self
is reputed so euill, so straunge, and so perni-
tious, that it comprehendeth and surmounteth, al other kind
of euils: for it afflicteth as well the poore and innocents, as
those that be wicked and euil disposed: for by it good lawes
are decayed, humanitie is defaced, equitie is suppressed, holy
places are prophaned, murders are committed, virgins are
desfloured, chaste matrons are defiled, kingdoms be subdued,
cities be ruinated: as warlike Numace, sumptuous Corinthe,
statelie Thebes, delicate Tyre, learned Athens, holy Ierusalem,
contentious Carthage, mightie Rome, and now lastly weal-
thy Antwerpe. These with many other moe, by warres haue
bene sacked, spoyled, robbed, defaced, and sometime layde
waste and desolate: for warre, pestilence, and famine, are the
three darter, which the almightie God is wont to shoote a-
gainst the earth, when he is displeased: and is holden so yck-
some amongst vs, that in our letanie we daily vse this praier,
From plague, pestilence, famine, battell, and murther, good
Lord deliuer vs.

The first obie-
ction.

The fruites of
warre.

A second reason, why I should be condemned, is this: Be-
cause as the warre of it selfe is an euill, and that so lothsom-
ly detested: euen so, to be professors, followers, and mini-
sters in the same, is esteemed a thing more fitte for ruffians,
roggers, blasphemers, and people of the vilest condicion, ra-
ther then an exercise for honest men, in whom there is any
feare of God, or any loue towardes their neighbour: in so
much that Cornelius Agrippa sayeth, That if you would cal
a tyrant, a blasphemer, a murderer, a robber, a spoyle, a de-
fower

A seconde ob-
jection.

A.i.

flower

Of warre.

flower, an oppressour, with many other such like : if you would (saith he) include all these into one short name, you may call him by the name of a souldiour.

A third obiection.

Such is the effect of securitie.

Of warre.

Genesis 14.

But now thirdly and especially, I knowe a number will scoone me, and thinke me to be too simple to write any thing of warres, in this so peaceable a time, but would rather haue allowed of my discretion, if I could haue framed some conceite according to the time, some pleasant discourse, some strange nouell, some amorous historie, some farre fette or vnknown deuice: this might haue purchaced me credit: the Printer might haue gayned by selling of my booke : but to giue men sodayne Allarmes of warre, that be quietly minded, pleasantly disposed, and peaceably pretended, I knowe it is but a mockerie : and euen now I begin to muse with my selfe, what madnesse at the first should diue such a conceyte into my brayne : but seeing I haue begun to enter into this fondnesse, pardon me, I pray you, the hearing of my excuse, which I trust you shall fynde to be reasonable.

Then first to speake of warre, because I knowe there be many whole consciences be so scrupulous, that they thinke no warres may be lawfully attempted, allowed of by Gods worde, or agreeing with true christianitie, for the number of outrages which by it are committed.

I thinke it therefore conuenient to see, what proofes may be alleadged in the defence of warre, although not in generall, yet in the holy Scriptures where they haue bene allowed of, and many times commanded by the almightie God him selfe.

In the 14. Chapter of Genesis it is written : When Abram hearde his brother was taken, hee harnesssed his fresh yong men, borne in his owne house, three hundred and eightene, and followed on them vntyll Dan : and he was set in array vpon them by night, hee and his seruants : and he smote them, and pursued them vnto Hoba, which lyeth
on

Of warre.

on the left hand of Damascus, and recovered all the goods, and brought agayne his brother Lot, and his goods, &c.

By this it seemeth, that Abram executed as well the part of a King, as the duetie of a Captaine: in that he tooke upon him to leaue a bande, and to enter into battell with these that before had oppressed his friendes: which hee dyd of his owne head: and yet this parte did nothing offend God, as the sequelle doth evidently prouue.

Abram executed the parte of a King.

Warres nothing offended God.

But in the 31. Chapter of Numeri, by the expresse commandement from God, Moses is willed to make warre upon the Madianites, the wordes bee these: And the Lorde spake vnto Moses, saying: Auenge the children of Israel of the Madianites: and afterward shalt thou be gathered vnto thy people. And Moses spake vnto the folke, saying: Harnessse some of you vnto warre, and auenge the Lorde of the Madianites, &c. And in the 8. chapter of the booke of Iosua: And the Lord spake vnto Iosua, Feare not, neyther be thou faint harted, take all the men of warre with thee, & vp, & get thee to Hai: Beholde, I haue giuen into thy hand the King of Hai, and his people, and his citie, and his lande: and thou shalt doe to Hai and her King, as thou didest vnto Iericho and her king: neuerthelesse, the spoyle and cattell thereof shall ye take vnto your selues, &c.

Numeri. 31.

Warres commanded by God.

Saul in the first booke of Kinges the 15. chapter, hath the like commandement: and these be the wordes: Samuel said vnto Saul, The Lord sent me to anoynt thee King ouer his people Israel: nowe therefore hearken thou vnto the voice of the Lord: Thus sayth the Lord of hostes: I remeber that which Amalek did to Israel, how they layde wayte for the in the way, as they came out of Egypt: Nowe therefore go and smite Amalek, and destroy ye all that pertayneth vnto him, & see that thou haue no cōpassion on them, and couet nothing that they haue: slay both man and woman, infant and suckling, oxe and sheepe, camel and asse, &c.

1. King. 15.

A.ii.

By

Of warre.

By this commandement we may perceiue, GOD gaue charge to Saul, that he should lacke the cositries of the Amalechites, and to passe by the edge of the sword, men, women, children, and beasts, without dispense or grace, giuing a reason of that extreme iustice: because those people had done many oppressions to Israel, in the voyage out of Egypt into Chanaan, and willet him in no wise to shewe mercy, or to haue compassion, not so much as vpon women and children. This place might seeme ouer cruell to such as would haue men go to warre, and to kil no body, nor to comit any spoyle: neither do I alleadge this, to maintayne tyrannie, for there is time and occasion to vse, both rigour and pitie, iustice and mercy, as hereafter I wil further shewe. I meane now but to make profe, y God hath not bene displeased with warres, but is called in many places, the God of hostes. And Moyles citech a place of the warres of the Lord: and in the 20. chap. of the second booke of Chronicles it is writte, that when Iosaphat had vnderstanding of the multitude of his enemies the Moabites, the Ammonites, and the Syrians that were gathered against him, Iosaphat assembling his people into the Temple, made this prayer vnto God.

2. Chron. 20 cap.

The prayer of
Iosaphat.

O Lord God of our Fathers, art thou not God in heauē, & raignest not thou ouer all the kingdomes of the heathen? and in thy hand is power and might: and there is no man that is able to withstand thee: art not thou our God, which didest cast out the inhabiteurs of this land, before thy people Israel, and gauest it to the seede of Abraham thy loue for euer? and they dwelt therein for thy name, saying: If euill come vpon vs, as the sword of iudgement, pestilence, or hunger: then if we stand before this house, and crye vnto thee in our tribulation, heare thou and helpe. And now behold, the children of Ammon, and Moab, and mount Seir, by whom thou wouldest not let them of Israel goe, when they came out of the land of Egypt, but they departed by them,
and

Of warre.

and destroyed them not, see howe they would rewarde vs, that would cast vs out of thy possession, which thou hast giuen vs to inherite: O our God, wilt thou not iudge them, for we haue no might against this great companie that cometh agaynst vs, neyther wote we what to do, but our eies attende vpon thee. And as he continued thus in prayer, behold, the Prophete spake vnto him: Feare not this multitude, it shall not be thy warre, but the warres of God, &c.

I could here cite a number of like places, but these may seeme sufficient, to prooue that warres haue bene acceptable before the maiestie of God, and sometimes more auaylable then peace, as in the second chapter of the booke of Iudges it appeareth, where the children of Israel were blamed for making of peace with the Cananites.

Warres sometimes
pleasing God better
then peace.

And like as out of the scriptures, many other probable reasons might be gathered: so there be diuers excellent authors, and sundrie learned writers, which seeme not onely to allowe of warres, but thinke them to be many times very meet & couenient to be attempted & to be taken in hand: and that it is many times necessary for Princes to become enemies, to the ende they may be perfect friends. And a most happie begun warre may that be called, whereby is brought the safetie of the state: so contrarie, most miserable is ϕ peace, which bringeth with it, the hazard of a countrey.

A happy warre
which bringeth
assured peace.

A miserable
peace.

Cicero saith in his booke of Offices, To this end and purpose we must enter into warre, that without iniurie we may liue in peace. And in an other place of the same booke hee saith: We must beware that we take not vp the matter by aduice, more to auoyd warre, then for cause of profite: for we must neuer by seeking to escape perill, deferue to some cowardes and dastards, but so let warres be taken in hand, as no other thing but peace, may seeme to haue bin sought. This was the cause that made Demosthenes so mightily to inuey against king Philip: for hee perceyuing the insatiable

Tull. officiis lib. 2.

Warres must be
taken in hand to
the end to haue
peace.

Of warre.

Better offende
then defende.

Warres sometime
attempted, occa-
sion of better
peace.

Time best taken
when it serueth.

Tull. de officiis
lib. 1.

As great iniustice
not to defend an
iniurie as to offer
an iniurie.

desire of king Philip, and that he ment to make a conquest of all Grecia, and had already begun with the Olynthians, whō if he had once overthrowen, there was nothing then to let his passage to Athens, the which Demosthenes very wel foreseeing, by sundrie orations perswaded the Athenians not onely to sende helpe to the Olynthians, but also to sende an armie into the partes of Macedonie, a meane whereby to make king Philip to haue withdrawē his force frō the Olynthians, to defende his owne countrey: alleadging by many persuations, that ayde to their neighbours was very needful and necessarie, when their owne safetie did chiefly consist in the others good successe: for who withdraweth him selfe whē his neighbours house is on fyre, may wāt helpe to quēch his owne. Thus we may see, although that peace be chiefly to be desired, yet many times by entring into warres it is the more safely & quietly maintayned: Like to a ship which many times by some extraordinary winde, forsaketh h̄ quiet harbour, and seeketh her safetie in the wilde and raging seas.

So as Salomon saith, There is a time of peace, a time of warre, a time of mirth, a time of mourning: and therefore to vse time in time, as occasion doth serue, is a point of the greatest wisdom. And Cicero to h̄ same effect vseth these words: To runne to the field rashly all vpon the head, and to enter conflict & skirmish with the enemy, is no point of humanitie, but the propertie of a sauage beast: but when time & necessitie requireth, then on with armour, and fight for lyfe, preferring death before seruitude and miserie.

And in an other place of the same booke, he speaketh of two kindes of iniustice: the first in him that wil offer it: the second in him that will take it, and being able will not defende it. But here peraduenture some will alleadge against mee the saying of Christ, where he willet, that he who had receyued a blowe on the one eare, should likewise turne the other: & he that

Of warre.

that would take thy cloke, thou must likewise giue him thy coate. But I trust they will not maintayne by this, that a Prince, when he is oppressed by any tyrant, should surrender by his crowne & seigneurie, for that he should be counted a quiet man and the childe of God, or that Gods worde doth any where forbid a Prince to maintayne his right, or that it should not be lawfull for him to enter into warres, either for the maintenance of Gods true religion, either for his owne securitie, as did the Athenians against king Philip: either for the subuersion of any tyrant or oppressour, or such as shall wrongfully vsurpe vpon any other, that are not able to defend their owne cause. And in the ancient time, it hath bene thought very couenient, that where a tyrant doth raigne ouer his owne people with crueltie, rauine, rape, murder, or other like oppressions, wherein a Prince may do his subiects manifest wrong, and is not by them to be redressed, for that it is not lawfull for the subiect to stande in armes against his Prince: it hath bene alwayes therefore thought requisite, that such Princes as haue bene borderers next vpon him, should chastise and correct so great enormities, to the ende that the name of a King might not seeme odious & hatefull to the common sort of people: as was Nero, Helio- gabulus, Dionysius, and others.

For how many causes a Prince may enter into armes.

This gotte Hercules such immortal glory, & he was reckoned amongst the number of the gods, only for his valiance and prowesse, vsed vpon monsters, tyrants, oppressours, and such other.

What gayned Hercules such immortal glory.

But something the better to satisfie such as in their opinions are so precise, to thinke that no warres, howe soeuer it bee attempted, may bee eyther good or godly: I will therefore here recyte the wordes of that learned and excellent man Hieronymus Osorius, in order as they bee written in his booke intituled, Of Christian nobilitie, which followe in this maner:

Of warre.

Hieronimus O.
sorius in his book
intituled, Chri-
stian nobilitie.

First therefore, I can conceiue no reason why they should despise warfare when it is rightfully begunne and taken in hand in the defence of religion, whereas we see it wonderfully extold in innumerable places of holy scripture, which they do not denie: but what say they? many things (say they) were conteyned in the olde law, which rather for the tymes sake were tolerated, then worthy dewe commendation: as to make a diuorce, to take vsurie of foraine countreys, of which sorte they say is to make warres vpon our enemies: but what semblance or similitude hath either vsurie or diuorces with martiall affaires? for they were not comended, but tolerated because of mens weakenes and imbecillitie: but he that durst presume not to obey, when commandement was giuen to wage battell, committed an offence so heynous, that he could redeeme the same by no satisfactiō. For in what place read we that it was decreed, that he should eyther abyde a payne, or bee subiect to a curse if any man (whereas after the first offence his wife counted it was lawfull so to doe) did not departe from his wife, or exacted no vsurie of forrainers and strangers? but in many places wee haue wel noted, that men rauished and replenished with the holy spirit, haue decreed that they should dye y death which through cowardise refused to come forth into the fielde. But what should I in this place make mention of Debora, who being inspired with the holy ghost, curseth them, which for as much as in them lyeth, take not in hand the warres of the Lord, and inueyeth against their cowardise in sharpe & vehement wordes? And agayne, they lay to our charges circumcision, the offering vp of a lambe, old sacrifices, which were in olde tyme with great deuotion kept, and after the comming of Christ did want their wonted reuerence: as though warfare dyd any whit appertayne to the ceremonies and mysteries of holy things, and were not rather ordained for the preseruatiō of the common wealth: for those

Of warre.

those holy rightes, in which were foreshadowed the expresse signes and tokens of Iustice and saluation, to be procured by our high and mightie Saviour Christ, after the coming of the thing it self, which was by those signes declared, were by good right and iust desert abrogated and disanulled: but this can not be thought of the noble knowledge of feates of armes, for as much as it is not comprised vnder the nature of ceremonies, but embraced for the maintenance and preservation of the common safetie, and wholly appertayneth to ciuill policie: and to confound those things which are to be distinguished, it is eyther the propertie of extreme madnes, or an argument of wonderfull temeritie and rashnes. And whereas the state of the common wealth can not be established, but it must needes be stayde, and as it were propped vp with strength and force of armes, for as much as all things in the time of peace to be practised and exercised, are vnder the tuition and defence of martiall prowesse: he that taketh away the knowledge of feates of armes, worketh the ouerthrowe of the common wealth: which thing if it had happened through christian discipline, then hadde men mooued with some reason, might laye to our charge, that some common wealth by meanes of Christian discipline was ouerthrowen: which slaunderous accusatio how wicked and vayne it is, we haue afore declared. For Christe would not that the state of ciuill policie should bee ouerthrowen, but rather established and confirmed: and therefore as he hath not wrested the sword out of the hande of a Magistrate, so neyther would he haue a souldiour to wante his weapon, to the intent that a Magistrate beeing armed with authoritie of lawes, might with seueritie of the same lawes, suppress wickednes amongst the members and inward partes of the common wealth, and the souldiour clad in armour, might with dint of sworde repelle and put aside from the common wealth all imminent daunger. For this

B.i.

cause

Of warre.

cause Iohn neuer exhorted men from applying themselves to the knowledge of feates of armes, but prescribeth lawes vnto souldiours of harmelesse vsage, and temperat behauiour: And Paul calleth those Magistrates the seruantes of God, which with the sword punish the wicked and desperate persons. Truly nothing were more hartily to be desired of a Christian man, then that all men would refrayne themselves from wickednes and sinfull lust: but for as much as that can not alwayes fall out, and in steade of continencie, vnbrideled lust: in steade of iustice, either forayne force or ciuill broyles vs to arise: then of necessitie eyther force of the enemy is with weapons and maine strength to be beaten backe, or the outrage of our citizens with sworde to be repressed. That say they is contrary to christian charitie: as thogh any kind of crueltie were greater the to be dissolute and negligent in a general distresse and miserie. Christ hath comanded that we shuld not be reuenged of our enemies: no doubt it is the propertie of perfect and absolute vertue, when priuately wee sustayne wrongs and iniuries, to shewe a singular and wonderful patience of the minde: but when either the common wealth or safetie of our countrey, or the honour or estate of religion is impugned, then against outrage and vilanie, to take an inuincible stomacke. Christe hath especially commended vs vnto peace: no doubt, that peace hee hath commended, which hee him selfe gaue vs, which doth not consist in pleasant reste and quietnes, that mans nature is prone to require (for who can suppose that he hath graunted vnto vs that kinde of securitie, whē he suffered his own disciples to be tossed, as it were, with troublesome waues of mans outragious furie?) but that peace, by the which we were reconciled into the grace and fauour of God, which had conceiued great wrath & indignation against vs, and to whose religion our wilful appetites were most repugnant: these enimities therefore & dislikings

Of warre.

likings betwene vs and God, Christ (as Paul testifieth in many places) with his owne precious blood hath done away, and hath purchased for vs a peace continual & everlasting. The which we may then especially enioy, when we most vehemently and egerly fight, either for the safetie of our country, or maintenance of the faith of Christ and his religion: vnlesse peradventure we suppose, that Abraham wanted the benefite of this peace, at what time he gathering a bande of men of his owne domesticall seruants, encountered with a huge and puissant hoste of his enemies, & valiantly (farre exceeding the estimation of man) vanquished foure mighty Kings, and his enemies being part of them slayne, the other put to the worse, he caryed away the spoyle. Or if we thinke likewise of Gedeon, who being guarded onely with three hundred men of warre, slewe innumerable multitudes of his enemies. Again, what think you of Iosua, Moyse his successor? what of Iephthah? What should I rehearse many other noble men, honoured aswell for their seruent zeale of religion, as magnified for their worthy exploytes in martiall affaires? may we thinke that they did offend God, whē they most valiantly set vpon their enemies? or shall we not rather say, that then especially the peace of GOD tooke effecte amongst them, when in the cause of righteousness, against godlesse people they waged battell? Thus farre Orosius.

But because it shall not be thought that this is but one doctours opinion, we finde many other that do giue the like commendation. Diuine Plato prayseth this arte of warre, Commendation of the art of war. and commandeth that children should learne it, and as soone as they be of abilitie, to become souldiours. Cyrus sayd, It was as necessarie as hus bandrie. Augustine and Barnard, both catholike doctours, do approue it.

But the people of Rome, who amongst all other dyd most exceede in noblenes of courage & in desire of martiall glory,

B. ii.

(as

Of warre.

(as may appeare by their images of honour, which for the most part are set by in warlike aray) they appointed for their chief officers two Consulles, the one to deale in citie matters, the other still occupied in warlike causes. For they very wel foresawe, that it was not possible to liue at quietnes within the walles of the citie, if the enemy were not kept backe from inuading their boundes and territories.

Hippodamus Mylesius, a man excellent well learned in the studie of good artes, thought it very conuenient for that countrey or citie that would liue in quiet safetie, that they should deuide and separate their people into three sortes: the one to artificers, the other to husband-men, and the third to warriors.

And in the ancient time, there hath bene no glory thought so great, no renoume esteemed so honourable, as that which hath bene gayned by force of martiall prowesse: and of purpose to prouoke and pricke forward eche manly wight, great rewards haue bene appointed to such as haue deserued wel.

The noble Caleb, who by his great courage and constancie of minde, had againe perswaded the childezen of Israel, that were in a muttering to haue returned into Egypt, to continue in their former manhode and vertue: and had therefore his reward promised him by Gods owne mouth. This Caleb hauing a very beautiful daughter whose name was Achsah, would bestow her on no man but vpon him that could take the citie named Cariath, which in the ende was taken by Othniel, his brothers sonne.

Dauid likewise receyued great riches with the daughter of king Saul for killing Goliath: and Dauid him selfe promised great rewarde to such as should ouerthrowe the Iebusites.

Amongst the Carthagians, they had so many rings giuen them, as they had bene present at battels.

Amongst the Scythians, they only might drinke in a broad bowle

No renoume so
honourable as y
which is gayned
by martial prow-
esse.

What rewarde
hath bene vsed to
such as haue shew-
ed the selues cou-
ragious in ywarrs
Numbers 14.
Iosua. 15.

1. Kings. 17.
2. King. 7.

Of warre.

bowle of golde (that was caried about) who had slayne an enemye.

The Romaines about the rest to stirre by means mynides to worthines, and with the better will to prouoke them to martial exploits, intented glorious triumphes, whereby he that deserved fame, might bee for ever renowned: so contrariwise, to such as were cowardes, dastardes, or of the infinitie of our carpet knightes, to such most bitter rauntes & shameful reproches were most iustly appointed.

What reproche, was vsed to carpet knightes.

The Macedonians ordained a lawe, that he who had not in fight of battell ouertome one, should in the sight of al men be trussed vp in a haulker.

The women of Cimbria would kill those that fled the fildes, yea, although they were their next friends & kindmen.

The women of Sparta would goe into the fildes to see in what place their husbands and friends were wounded, if it were before, they would with ioy and gladnes shewe them to euery man, and so burie them with great solemnitie: if behinde, they al ashamed would depart leauing them vnburied.

Sparta

Firrias a woman of Lacedemonia, hauing vnderstanding, that her sonne was slaine in a battell, answered, Was it not requisite, that my sonne going to the warres should slea others: Wherefore should I then lament, if he him selfe bee slaine: no surely, I more ioyfully take knowledge of my sonnes death worthy of me and his predecessors, then if with shame in slouth and idlenesse he should yet haue liued. Let cowardes complayne, for I without teares will burie my sonne.

An other woman of Lacedemonia killed her own sonne, for that he had returned from the warres, in whose reproche this Epitaphe was written:

Thou dastard knight Damarrion thy mother hath thee slayne:
That didst both her and Sprague bloud with cowardise dislayne.

B.iii.

Solon

Spartan

Of warre.

Solon, who for his wisdome is most renowned, being demanded of Cresus king of Lidia, whom he iudged of al other to be most happie, answered: one Tellus an Athenian, which had begotten (in a countrey abounding with all commodities) children excellling in goodlines of personage, & strength of body, and after wardes, defending his countrey manfully, ended his lyfe with great glory.

Thus we may perceiue, how in þe anciēt time, they thought the knowledge & practise of warre to be in great reputatiō, that by so many means would seeke to encourage men to þe exercise of it: & what incōmoditie hath happened vnto those, that haue so wholly sought their felicitie in peace, þe they haue not only despised war, but vtterly refused to learne any martial discipline, or warlike exercise, hereafter shal be shewed.

The occasions
that make men to
hate warre.

But the occasions that make men so extreemely to hate warre, are sundrie: but that which doth most of all bere the greatest nūber, is this: not so much for any special loue they haue to peace, as for feare of taxes, paymēts, & other charges hanging vpon warre: for other wise warre or peace were all one with them, so they might liue in quietnes, without any charge. And yet I dare vndertake, not one of these peace-mongers, that wil thinke he hath bene so ouercharged, if he haue bestowed but x. shillings toward the setting forth of a souldiour, that goeth to spende his life in his prince or countries cause, but will with more willing mind bestowe x. li. amongst the lawiers to do his neighbour a shrewed turne.

Ocher some would loue þe warres wel ynough, so theselues might be free frō preassling, for that thei had rather liue like yole loytering lubbers, then offer their seruice any way to defend or maintaine the liberties of their countrey: in cōdition to be cōpared to cur dogges, þe wil satone vpon any mā as long as hee feede the, but whē they should be farther vled for pleasure in the field, then adue, they go to their kenels: so these people, they are bozne, fostered vp, & enioy the lawes & liberties of their countrey: & when their countrey standeth in need,

Of warre.

need, do shew themselves every way to aide & assistance, with as willing mindes, as a beare cometh to a stake: these be right bastards to their countrey, & are in deed worthe to enjoy no benefit of their countrey. Plutarch maketh mentio of an Ile y^e is in Grece, called the Ile of Cobde: in this ple there is a linage descended of y^e noble Greeke captaine called Agis the good: amongst these Agites, this law is especially obserued, that none dare call him selfe to be natural of the ple, vnlesse he hath done some valiant act, or by some meanes shewed him self forward in his countreys defence. If this law were in Englad obserued, we shuld haue to few natural Englishmen

There are an other sorte, that onely cowardlines & feare make them hate the warres: these deserue litle to bee spoken of, and lesse to be accompted of.

There is yet a last sort, whose consciences be so pure (as they say themselves) y^e they can allowe of no wars, either to be good or goodly, considering what murders, spoyles & other outrages by these are committed. This in deede seemeth to carie reason wth it: but notwithstanding it is not sufficient to condene a iust quarell: for Saul lost the especial grace & fauour of god, 1. King. 15. for preserving the best of the praye hee had taken from the Amalechites, which he should haue utterly destroyed.

And Iosua, fearing the day would haue bin too short for him to kill his enemies which fled before him, commanded y^e sunne to stand stil, which was obedient to his commandment: & shal we therfore condene his quarell, because hee seemed to carry a murderious mind? Not so: for his quarell was most iust, & his facte best pleased God. Neither haue I brought forth these examples as necessary for all to follow, but as probable for my purpose: for mercy I acknowledge to be one of the greatest vertues, whereto a noble captaine may be endued: but to be vsed out of time, as occasio may fall out, hath greater resemblance to foolish pitie then to be called mercy, and is rather to be holden a vice then a vertue, as hereafter I meane further to shew.

B. iiii.

But

Mercy a speciall
vertue in a cap-
taine, so it be v-
sed in time.

Of warre.

A fond maner of
reasoning.

But I do not a litle wonder, what madnes should mooue mens mindes to frame such argumentes, that because murders, spoiles, and other like hauockes be committed in the warres, the warres therefore can not please God, and what soeuer pleasech not God, can not be good.

The fruites that
spring in the
time of peace.

What meanes to
come by riches.

By the like argument, peace is the most greatest and the most detestable enormitie that of al others may happen, and amongst Christians most to be abhorred: for peace is the nourisher of vices, the roote of evils, the propper of pride, and to be short, it is the mother of al mischiefes. For in the tyme of peace we set our mindes onely to waite riche, for the attayning whereof, what extortion, what deceit, what fraud, what flatterie, what lying, what forswearing is vsed to come by them: and when they be had, they are the onely instruments to banitie, the readie ministers to vices, the very occasiō why so great warres be many times arreared betweene Princes, a special cause of commotions amongst subiects, they breede quarelles amongst friendes, suites betweene brethren, they make him that shall possesse them proude, presumptuous, vaine glorious, and of a good man to become euil & wicked.

Augustine de
ciuitate Dei.

Furthermore, in peace men growe to be slouthful, ydle, proude, couetouse, dissolute, incontinent, vicious, folowing al maner of vanities, giue al to delights, to inordinat lust, gluttonie, swearing, & to be short, to al maner of filchinesse: which was very wel percepued by S. Augustin, who in a booke that he wrote intituled, De ciuitate Dei, hath these wordes:

More hurtful was the citie of Carthage to Rome after her destruction, then during the whole course and season of the warres which the Romaines had with her: for that whylest they had enemies in Affrike, they knewe not what vyces ment in Rome.

And what greater argument may there be of the displeasure of God, then where he sendeth amongst them such peace and quietnes: for as the scriptures witnesse, Whom he loveth,

Of warre.

ueth, them he chastiseth : but a small signe of care should seeme, where he giueth the people ouer to their owne vanities, and suffereth them to wallowe in all vyce and wickednesse.

Thus you may see, by such maner of reasoning, vice may be made to seeme vertue, and contrarie vertue appeare to be vice. But here if any man would coniecture, that by this which I haue alleadged, I ment in deede to perswade, that warres were moze conuenient then peace, they should doo me great wrong: for, although I do know I haue sayde nothing but what is true, and that in the time of peace al kinde of vices do most wickedly abounde, yet I do very wel know, that the time of peace is not therefore to be condemned : so likewise, in the time of warre, although there be many disorders and sundrie outrages committed, yet the warres therefore are not absolutely to be repproued. For as peace is the great benefite and blessing of God, so warres being attempted vpon due consideration, doe nothing at all offende him : but like as the sunne when it shineth in some pleasant garden, the herbes and flowers do yeelde a most delectable verdure, so where it shineth vpon some filthie dunghill, the stench and lothsomenesse to the passers by, is most noysome.

Vice may be made to seeme vertue.

As the sunne which was prepared of the almightie God to be a comfort to euery humane thing, is not the cause of the one nor the other, but the qualitie of the places : so those abuses which are vsed either in peace or warre, are not to be imputed to the time, but to the disposition and lewdnes of the people, which like to filthie dunghilles, at euery time and season, are more noysome then profitable.

Leude disposed people good at no season.

Let this suffice then: that what I haue written, is but onely to prooue that warres are not alwayes to bee condemned, and that it is not agaynst the lawes of God, that Princes should erect warres vpon sufficient cause, but sometime for ciuil policies sake, most requisite to be done : Con-

C. i.

cluding

Of souldiours.

cluding, that assured peace is euer to bee preferred before doubtfull warre, so it may be had without preiudice or iniurie.

Thus endeth the first parte of warre.

The seconde parte entreating of Souldiours.

The second obiection.



The second obiection is, Whether he that is honest, may take vpon him the profession of a Souldier? As who should say, that to be a souldiour may not bee an honest mans profession, because in the warres they bee the ministers of so many mischiefes: this is their reason. But in this place I will but reason of souldiours, as I haue already done of warres: that is, but to shewe what maner of people souldiours haue bene: As for such as do but vsurpe the name of souldiers, I leaue them, tyll another occasion.

Genesis. 14.

Hebr. 6.

The first figure of
Christ offered to
souldiours.

We finde in the 14. chapter of the booke of Genesis, that Abraham was a captaine and a leader of men, vnto whom Melchizedech the king of Salem brought forth bread and wine: albeit he were a priest of the most high God. And S. Paul in his epistle to the Hebrewes the 6. chapter, speaking of our Saviour Christ, saith, That hee was made a highe Priest for euer after the order of Melchizedech: and all the diuines and ancient doctours by generall consent doe agree, that the first true figure of Christ, was here offered to souldiers, that were returned from the slaughter and spoyle of their enemies.

A special cause wherein souldiers may worthily triumph, and a choke peare sufficient, to stoppe their mouches, that would

Of souldiours.

would so absolutely condemne them.

Moyſes, though he were otherwiſe a Prophet, yet he was likewiſe a captaine, to whom Iethro his father in law by the motion of Gods ſpirit, gaue counſell to prouide ſuch to be iudges ouer the reſt, which ſhould be found to be men of courage, to feare God, to be louers of trueth, & hating couetouſnes, &c. and that of them he ſhould make ſome millenaries to rule ouer thouſands: and that he ſhould create others centeniers, to rule ouer hundreds: others Cinquantiniers, to beare authoritie ouer fifties: and Diſiniers to command ouer tennes.

What manner of
men haue bene
ſouldiers.
Exod. 18. 21.
Deut. 1. 3. 15.

Iolua at whole commandement the ſunne was obedient, was a ſouldier and a leader of an armie.

When the whole hoſte of y^e childre of Iſrael was utterly diſmayde for the multitude of their enemies, whoſe numb^re was like the ſandes of the ſea, the Lord commanded Gedeon to make his choiſe of ſuch to ſerue for ſouldiers to encounter them, as were moſt faithfull, that doubted not of his promiſes made vnto them, which were in numb^re but 300. and were choſen by lapping of water.

Judges. 7.

Who euer ſtood more in the good grace & fauour of God, then that noble king and captaine David, whom the Lord termed to be a man after his owne hartes deſire.

What ſhould I here ſpeake of Iephthah, of Iehu, of Iudas Machabeus, and of many other, which were notable ſouldiers: ſhall they be condemned to be wicked and euill, becauſe they were warriours: or ſhal we thinke of them that in that vocation they offended God?

When the ſouldiers demaunded of Iohn Baptiſt, what they ought to do, he willed them to hurt no man wrongfully, but to liue by their wages: hee ſayd not vnto them, Forſake your byle profeſſion, you can not be the children of god, to followe any ſuch manner of exerciſe: the which queſtionleſſe hee would haue done, if he had ſo thought.

Luke. 3.

And when the captaine who had ſent vnto Jeſus, for the

C. ii.

healing

Of souldiours.

Luke 7.

healing of his seruant that laye sicke, as Iesus was going towarde his house: Nay Lord (quoth the captayne) I am not worthie that thou shouldest enter vnder my rooffe, doe but speake the worde onely, and my seruant shall be safe: for I also am a man set vnder power, and haue vnder mee souldiours: and I saye vnto one goe, and he goeth: to another come, and he commeth: and to my seruant do this, and hee doth it. Iesus marueyling at his words, turning him about to those that folowed, said: I haue not found so great faith, no not in Israel.

Actes 10.

And what godlier commendation may bee giuen to any man, then we finde in the. 10. chapter of the Actes of the Apostles, where it is written as foloweth:

There was a certaine mā in Cesarea whose name was Cornelius, a captaine of the souldiers of Italie: a deuout man, & one that feared God with al his hould, &c. To this Cornelius the Angel of the Lord appeared & willed him to sende into Ioppa, and to enquire for one Simon Peter, who should instructe him and baptize him in the name of Iesus: & when the Angel was departed, thus saith the text: He called vnto him two of his hould seruants, and a deuoute souldiour, that wayted on him, and tolde them all the matter, and sent them to Ioppa, &c.

This may seeme sufficient to prooue, that not onely captaynes, but also priuate souldiers, haue bin founde to be both zealous, and seruent in the loue and feare of God, and that he hath likewise accepted them into his speciall grace and fauour.

With how many
vertues noble cap-
taynes haue bene
endewed.

But what should I stande here to manifest the vertues wherewith a numbre of noble captaynes hath bin most plentifully indewed: as the bountie and liberalitie of Alexander, the continencie of Scipio, the iustice and equitie of Iulius Cesar, the patience and humilitie of Agathocles, the mercy and pittie of Agesilaus, the faith and fidelitie of Regulus to his
very

Of souldiours.

very enemies: Here might (I say) euen of this onely matter a huge volume be written, only of the vertuouse dispositions of noble souldiers: in so much that this othe, By the faith of a Souldiour, hath bene so inuiolably kept, that a souldiour hath bene better to haue bene crevided by that othe, the some marchants now by their obligations.

By the faith of
a Souldiour.

But here if any will coniecture, that in tyme past souldiours haue so exceeded in vertues, that at the time present they haue none at all left for them to boast on: although in England our multitude be not many, yet amongst those few there be both honourable and worshipful, whose magnanimitie in the time of warres hath made them famous in forrain countreys, and whose noblenes and vertues now in the time of peace, doe shine coequal with the best.

But here peradventure some curiouse cauiller wil replie that these may better be called sage and wise counsaillers, the bloudy or cruel captaines, and rather may be termed sober & discrete Iustices, then rash and harebrayned souldiours: and thus by denying of them to be souldiers, will thinke I am neuer the neerer my prooue: But here if there were no other shift, or that the matter were so needful to be reasoned on: it were very easie to prooue, that the best and noblest souldiers be euer found to be the wisest and meetest counsaillers: and for this cause the Poetes haue sayned Minerva to be armed, signifying that Captaines and souldiers should be as wise in counsailling, as couragious in conquering: as politique in keeping, as valiaunt in getting.

Souldiours most
meete to haue
rule.

And Tullie in his first booke of Offices speaketh of a double commoditie that these men do yeelde to their countrey, who armed, do make warres: and roabed, do governe the common wealth.

Tull. de off. li. i.

But leauing these, we haue in England but one onely place to make any choise on, which is the garrison lying in Barwicke: where I doubt not but he that doth know y^e gouernement

Smal choyce of
souldiers in En-
glande.

Of souldiours.

The noble cap-
taines and souldi-
ers of Barwicke.

ment of the capitaines, and the orderly liuing of the Souldiours, will confesse them to be as vertuous in their liuing, as valiant in their actes: as modest in their maners, as hardie in their courage: as mylde in the towne, as manly in the fyelde: as faithfull to their friendes, as furious to their foes: to be short, amongst them lyars are cōtemned, sweareers are reprooued, deflowers are punished, brawlers are banished, drunkardes are not regarded, all maner of vices are corrected: that of my conscience, the olde souldiours of Barwicke may be a spectacle for orderly liuing to any other, what kind of trade so euer he would seeme to professe.

Some become
souldiers rather
to spoyle then to
do any seruice.

What though there be some that in the tyme of seruice will intrude them selues, and become souldiers, of purpose rather to spoyle, robbe and filch, then to doo any good seruice, shall the honest Souldiour therefore bee condemned: so ebery profession, howe necessarie so euer it seeme, would bee mistiked, and men of euery facultie would bee despised.

Of marchants.

As first for example, the marchantes, whose trade, as Plinie sayeth, was inuented for the necessitie of mans life, transporting from one region to another, that which lacketh in the one and aboundeth in the other: yet there be many that vnder this cloke and good pretence, continually doe practise, to transporte out of their owne natie countreis, such commodities as may not wel be spared: whereby many times great scarcitie and dearch doth happen, wherein the people are piteously oppressed.

No worse theetes
then marchants.

In Englande once a yeere wee fynde the extremitie, eyther for wante of coyne, lether, hydes, callowe, butter, cheese, bacon, beefe, biere, & many other such lyke, which by her Maiestie are prohibited: but no restraunte may serue against those theetes, vnnaturall robbers and spoylers of their owne countrey.

And

Of souldiours.

And yet these are commonly the greatest fynde faultes that will inuaye agaynst Souldiours, whose spoyles are much more tolerable, because they spoyle but their enemies: these robbe and spoyle they friends, and make wracke of they owne countreys, by conueying awaye they commodities, and by returning of incommodities, bayne tryfles which are not necessarie for our humane life, but onely to maynteyne women and children in pryde, pompe, and bayne glorie: such thinges as doo procure delighes, wantonnesse and delicacie: the very vanities and vyces of euery Nation by these men are brought home. And then what periurie, what fraude, what deceyte, by them selues, their brokers, and retaplers is vled to vtter them, my wittes be to weake, nor I thinke there is no other that is able to expresse, vnlesse it bee a marchant himselfe that hath vled the trade.

What trafique is vled by many marchants.

Furthermore, vnder this trade and traffique they haue conference with straunge Princes, and vtter vnto them the secretes of countreys, lende them money, and in the ende will not sticke to betray their owne countrey, and common wealth.

There is an other kynde of marchauntes, that decke their shoppes with other mennes goodes, borowing here of one, and there of another: and when they haue gotten into they hande some great masse of balewe, then they become bankeroutes, and lye in a corner with other mennes goodes.

Very harde to knowe one from another.

Thus you may see, that although this trade or traffique of marchandise is very beneficiall to euerie estate and common wealth, and that there haue bene many wise and notable men that haue vled it, as Thalust, Solon, Hippocrates, and others, yet it is by other some abused: but shall wee therefore condemne the trade, or other good & honest

Of souldiers.

Marchantes that vse it? not so: for the exercise of it may not be forborne, and the honest trading marchaunt is to be had in reuerence and estimation.

Of lawyers,

Pety foggers.

Marke the order
of these fellows.

Lawyers the au-
thours of ciuill
dissensions.

Lawyers would be
the authours of
peace.

Lawiers the lettes
of many good or-
dinances.

In like maner amongst the lawyers, are there not found many that creepe into the Innnes of court, that seeke by lawe to ouerthrowe lawe, such as be termed by the name of peti foggers, bachelles, that practise nothing but to breede dissensions, strifes, suites, quarels & debates betwene neighbour and neighbour, brother and brother, yea, sometimes betwene the father and the sonne?

First they animate them to comence actions, perswading them that their quarels be iust, & wil very well stande with lawe: but when they haue once gotten them in, then they feede them with delayes, procrastinating their suites frō day to day, from terme to terme, yea from yeere to yeere: in the end, when the matter is like to fall out against them, then they blame their clients, & in the beginning they did not thoroughly instructe them.

These be the people that of all other are most to be detested: for in the time of peace, these procure continual warres and ciuill dissensions, not amongst enemies, but amongst friends, not amongst foraine foes, but amongst their naturall countrey men, reioycing when any brawle or brabble do fall out amongst their neighbours.

And yet they would be accompted the authours of peace, and will not let to exclaime against the souldiour, and condemne him, because they do thinke him to be like vnto themselves, that is, to be desirous of warres and troubles.

There is no Parliament or couocation that is called, but if there be any good motion had in question, for the quietnes or quicke dispatche of matters in controuersie, but y lawyers be the onely lettes, that it shall not come forth: because that if it were not for delayes and shiftes, the one halfe, nay not a quarter of them might be able to thriue by their occupatiō, there

Of Souldiers.

there are suche a shamefull companie.

Pea many times there are found great corruptions euen amongst \bar{y} Judges them selues: \bar{y} for feare to offend a prince or some noble man, will not sticke wth Pilat, to condemne Chyriste. Sometime with Golde and Siluer or other giftes, they be so corrupted, that they regarde moze the presents that are giuen them, then either iustice or equitie: they are diligent in riche mens causes, but the poze they deferre: the complaint of the widowe or fatherlesse, can not be heard amongst them.

The vertue of Gold.

But shal we therfoze reproue the lawe, which is the onely prop & stay to euery common wealthe, without the whiche we coulde not liue in any good order, other wise then as brute beastes, neither coulde those that be good & harmelesse, inioy either goods or possessions from cruell Tyrants & oppzessours: neither were any one man assured of his life or liuing, were there not lawe to punishe murderers, and to mainteine right: or shal the abuses of some, condemne all honest and true dealing Lawyers, who in their professiō of al men are woorthy to be honoured: as there is no reason in the one, so they be to much to blame, that for the lewdnes of some lossels, that doe but vsurpe the names of souldiers, will therfoze so absolutely condemne all souldiers: thinking there can none be good, because some are yll.

No reason that some should condemne all.

But what profession may there be, wherein wicked men will not seeke to cloake and couer them selues: be there not that enter euen into the ministerie of the holy sacramentes, proude prelates, blinde guides, and lazie lubbers: some that during the space of twentie yeares, haue receined the fruites of benefices, that haue not thre times visited their flocke: but commits them to Sir John lack latine and his fellowe, poze ignorant chaplines: such, as they may hire best cheape: while

The manners of our clergie,

D.

they

Of Souldiers.

Ezec. 34.
Mt. he. 3.
Eia. 36.

they them selues liue in pleasure, pompe, and pride: not like Saint Peter nor Saint Iohn, that had not one penie to giue to the poore lame man, that sat begging at the Temple gate: and yet they would be called their successors. These be they of whom the Prophet Ezechiel so exclaimeth, saying they serue for nothing, but to serue them selues, and in stead of feeding their flocke, they take the fleece, draine the milke, kill the fattest, eat the flesh, breake the bones, they are dumbe dogges, that knowe nothing, they dare not barke, but are very curious to haue horsekeepers for their palfries, faulconers for their hawkes, cookes for their paunches, but the poore sheep perish through their default. I know likewise that there be a number of learned Pastors, godly Ministers, diligent Preachers, and faithfull followers: they which God defend should beare the abuses of the others. When if the holie temple of God, can not be cleansed from such Ministers of mischiefes: they be something too nice, that would haue souldiers to be all Saintes, and much more to blame that would make them all diuelles, because some doe amisse. And here with all I must thinke them to be very parciall, that with suche blunt tearmes will intitile souldiers in the time of warre: and in the time of peace, can so cleanly cloake the very same actors, with names and titles of credite and estimation. For in the time of warres, he that is founde to be bloudily minded, killing without compassion all that lighteth in his wrath, they tearme him by the name of a Tyrant and a murtherer, where in the time of peace, they sometime shadow him vnder the title of my Lord Iudge, but many times by the name of Maister Justice of peace and Quorum. In the time of war who they tearme a seditious mutiner, a peruerter of good lawes, a maintainer of vngodly quarells: in the time of peace they call him Maister

Sara

Of Souldiers.

Sargeant of the quoyse, a wise counsellor in the law, or an honest diligent Attorneie. In the time of warre, whom they tearme a theefe, a robber, & spoyler: in the time of peace they cal him an honest trading merchaunt. In the time of warre whom they call a violatour of women, a raniher, & deflowzer: in the time of peace they cal him a friendly and louing gentleman: yea and some foolish soother that wil speake they knowe not what, wil say he is a right Courtier, & a courtlike gentleman. In the time of warre, he y can tell a fyled tale, & that can creepe into mens bosomes to serue his owne turne, they cal him a Parasite, a flatterer, and a dissembler: in the time of peace they call him an excellent learned man, and a very good Preacher.

Duche parcialitie (I say) is amongst them, that no faultes are espted, but such as be committed amongst souldiers: neither do I here goe about to excuse al souldiers, as though there were none yll: but those that be, are commonly founde in these newe leuied bandes, and not amongst olde souldiers as hereafter I will shewe.

But here peraduenture, some will thinke that although many of them may be excused from a number of vices, wherwith they haue bene charged: yet that they of force must be all murderers, may not be denied: for they goe into the feelde as well weaponed to kill, as armed to defend. This obiection I haue many times hard, but those people are in too scrupulous an opinion, considering howe many examples we may finde in the holy Bible: where God hath not bene offended, with those that haue killed their enimies: but that it is sometimes lawfull in the presence of God to shake off the yoke of bondage by the death of Tyrantes, as Iudith by Holofernes, and many other like. But as iustice without temperance is reputed iniurie: so magnanimitie

D.ij.

nimitie

Of Souldiers.

Mercie not al-
waies to be vsed.

nimitie without mercie is accounted Tyrannie: and as it cannot be counted a noble victorie which bringeth not with it some clemencie, so to vse pitie out of time and season is as great folly: as to vse mercie in any conflict till victorie be attained.

Policie omtyme
excludeth pitie.

And sometime policie excludeth pitie, as the Grekes who after the destruction of Troy, slew Alexander the sonne of Hector, to the end that there might remaine no occasion of quarell, fearing if he had liued he would haue sought some reuenge.

To much pitie
the cause of so
much disquiet-
nesse in Ireland.
The verie meane
to bring Ireland
to be quiet.

But leauing all other fozeigne histories, I will come but to this one example whiche is moste familiar among vs for the pzoofe of the pzenmisses, which is this: That the greatestt cause of those endlesse warres, that are holden in Ireland, do onely pzoceede of the mercie & lenitie that is vsed amongst them: and that the onely means to bring the people soonest to conformitie, and the countrie to quietnesse, is without compassion to punish the offenders, and without either grace or mercie to execute the rebelles, and such as be malefactours.

Ireland is in
most miserable
condition.

And seeing my occasion falleth out so fitly to speake of Ireland, I craue pardon here a little to digresse from my matter, and to speake something of the manner of the countrie: considering it was my fortune to be there, when I first tooke in hande to write this simple deuise, & so continued til I had fully finished it: & which time I confesse was verie short for me to vnderstande the verie true and perfect estate of the countrie: which in euerie condition, is so confused, so ouerthwart, and disordered: that I thinke there is none so vncharitable, whiche will not lament to heare it.

The causes are too many, and doe farre surpasse my capacitie to bewray them, yet as nere as I can I will glauce at some part of them: and although I knowe
my

Of Souldiers.

my cunning will not serue to hit the verie pꝛicke, yet he may wel be passed foꝛ an archer, that can shoot faire and something about his marke: the which I may so much the better doe, considering there be suche a many that doe stande and giue ayme: some with open exclamations, crie out howe they be spoyled, robbed, reued, and burned, by the rebels.

But this is that whiche most of all doth make me to muse, that almoste euery man will seeme as though he knewe a remedie, and yet there is no reformation can be had, amongst them: Well (say some) these rebels could not continue, were it not that they had other helps then them selues: They haue mainteiners, and ayders, neither can they be without receiuers, but if those that be boꝛderers would doe their best vpon them; they could not holde out.

But there is amongst them, Forbeare me, & I will not see thee: Hurt not me, and I will not hinder thee.

The orders of
Ireland,

And many be dꝛiuen in deede perfoꝛce, to ayde them, and currie fauour with them, foꝛ feare of being spoyled.

And although there be diuers lawes, & sundꝛy good ordinaunces, to pꝛunish suche as shall be founde guilty in the pꝛemisses: yet they are so cleanly conueied and so cunningly handled, that the Lorde Deputie shall neuer vnderstande it. But if there happen any to be accused, and brought foꝛth to answere the lawe: then there is such cloaking, such couering, such shifting, such bowlstering, and suche bzibing: that it was not he that did it: some cheefe horse, some fine ambling hackney, oꝛ some halfe scoꝛe oꝛ a hundred colles will salue all the soꝛe.

But here perchance you would know amongst whō this is vsed: nay I must not tell you that, so I might get my selfe such enemies, as I might not farrie in Ireland.

Of Souldiers.

In like manner it hath been often scene, that when a rascall (a rebell I would fearme him) hath done many spoyles, & committed many outrages, yet in the end hath beene receiued vpon composition, and many times haue their pardons begged, by some that be about the Lorde Deputie: and many times they haue friends in England to purchase them pardons, and to send them ouer: and this is the very cause that giueth them boldnesse to doe yll, so that there is no assured truste to be founde in the greatest number of them: but when they may see time and occasion, to doe a shrewd turne, then they get them a companie of breeches beggers (followers they call them) and when they haue plaid their parts to the vttermost, they assure them selues that a hundred of stolen colles will buy a pardone: where otherwise if all hope were cut from them, & that no pardons might be granted vnto them, & that such as shoulde be found fauourers vnto them, might without fauoure feele the force of the lawe, without any exceptions from the best to the worst, and that euery one like duetiful subiects would put to their helping hande, to the suppressing of them, there is no question, but Irelande woulde sooneware ciuil, and the countrie woulde quickly growe to be quiet.

The very occasion that maketh Ireland so troublesome,

Idleness the greatest enimie to a common wealth

In like manner, soasmuche as it is evidently known, that idleness amongst all people hath ever beene accounted most hatefull, and that in euery well gouerned Common wealth it is founde to be a vice most hurtfull: the which to preuent y Romans vsed very streight meanes: insomuch that none durst goe in the streates, but he must beare a shewe whereby or how he liued, in consideration whereof, the Consul did beare a battell are, the Tribunes a mace, the Priestes a hatt, the Cutlers a sword, the Tailors a payre of sheeres, the Smithes a hammar, and thus euery one according to his exercise,

to

Of Souldiers.

to the end it might appeare he liued by his owne laboꝝ,
and not by the sweat of others, as commonly these fol-
lowers doe in Ireland. For remedie whereof, it were
very fitt and most conuenient, that such streight lawes
and sharpe ordinaunces were provided, that not one
that shoulde be founde, might be suffered to escape oꝝ in
any wise to passe, til þe maner of his life were thꝛough-
ly examined, & the oꝝder of his living very wel knowen.

Some would thinke me here to be too seueare to be
made a Iustice of peace, and would say vnto me that the
countrie that were conquered by foꝝce, ought rather to
be gouerned with moze clemencie & mildnesse: foꝝ that
the inhabitantes, with the better will woulde pꝛepare
their hearts to obedience: but that experience hath ben
tried long enough, and this is most certeine, that who
so euer will thinke to pꝛeuaille in Ireland, it must be by
vsing of iustice with extremitie, and not w lenitie. And
what pitie is to be vsed to those, that so without pitie
will not spare to oppꝛesse the poꝝre and simple farmer,
suche as laboureth duly foꝝ his living? Howe lamen-
table is the case of those that be honest, and suche as
would gladly indeuour them selues to liue oꝝderly, whi-
che can not so much as enioy a poꝝre flocke bed to lie vꝛ-
on, but must content them selues with homelier beds
then a bundle of swæte strawe: and in steede of other
cates, doe onely liue by grasse, hearbes, and rootes: and
then to see what labour, what toyle, & what paine they
endure, but to get some sniall poꝝtion of money, where-
with to buy a loafe of bread, of the whiche neither
he, his wife, noꝝ his childꝛen, shall neuer eate so much as
one crumbe: but muste serue to content those ydle
roges, where the poꝝre man him selfe, if he be able to
keepe a cowe foꝝ his better relæse, letteth her bloude

The best way to
gouerne Ireland

Of Souldiers.

A miserable
case.

in a veine in her necke, the which bloud being boyled in a clod, serueth his turne in stead of the finest manchet.

Thus (I saye) those that would be honest, be still kept vnder in mosse miserable manner, contented to yeld them selues to any manner of thraldome, so they might be defended from these helhoundes, as may better appeare by a Proverb that they vse, which is: Defend mee, and spend mee. But the multitude of these Idlers are such, that it cannot be. These be the people, through whome the greatest parte of the disorder both spring, there cannot be therefore too great punishments to correct them, nor too much crueltie vsed to ridde them: and euen like as bitter & sharpe punishments should be rewardes for those that be euill: so for those that be good, there ought likewise to be some incouragements, whereby they might still continue in their goodnes: and a meane whereby to incite other to do the like. But this amongst other matters, is especially to be lamented: that in all the countrie there is not erected some Uniuersitie, wherin they might be trained vp in good letters, whereby they might learne to serue God aright: who I thinke amongst the greatest number of them, is neyther known nor feared: and yet they will seeme to haue a zeale to religion, for there be amongst them, that during the time of Lent, will refraine from eating of egges, butter, & cheese: and yet will make no conscience, if it were vpon good friday, to goe steale an hundred colwes to their breakefast.

A sound reli-
gion.

As I haue heard, it hath bene in question, and proposers haue bene made to the erecting of a Uniuersitie: but howsoeuer it happeneth, it is deferred: but this is most certeine, they be neyther friendes, nor well wilers to the countrie, that will stand against it.

For if it were well considered, what a benefite it would

Of Souldiers.

would be to the countrie, if there were a place, where gentlemen might bring up their children in learning, where now they bring them up in lewdnesse, in filching and stealing: where they might be brought up in knowledge of good artes and sciences, in manners and civilitie, where now they remaine in ignorance, and be onely trayned but in brutish beastlinesse.

Neither is it much to be mervelled at, for besides that there is no place in the countrie, where they might attaine to knowledge and learning: no more there is any one meane whereby they might almost knowe vice from vertue: for they are likewise bereaved of one of the greatest benefits, that giveth light and understanding, which is by reading of histories: considering that there is nothing which may be either pleasant, profitable, or necessarie for man: but is written in books, wherin are reported, the manners, conditions, gouvernementes, counsels, and affaires of everie countrie: the gestes actes, behaviour, and manner of living of everie people: the formes of sundrie Common wealthes, with their augmentations, & decayes, & the occasions thereof: the precepts, exhortations, counsels, & good persuasions comprehended in quicke sentences: to conclude, in books and histories are actually expressed, the beautie of vertue, and the lothsomnes of vice. Wherefore Lactantius saith thou must needs perish, if thou knowest not what is to thy selfe profitable, that thou maist seeke for it: and what is dangerous, that thou maist flie & eschew it. Which knowledge & light commeth chiefly unto us by reading of histories: but how should they come by this profit or comoditie in Ireland: where they have no manner of books, neither yet the use of printing: so that for them there is no meane either to learn civilitie

The light that
reading of his-
tories do bring

Of Souldiers.

A prouerbe vsed
in England.

The nature of
the wilde par-
tes

or good order: but by the example of vs that be English,
whome naturally they doe hate: & we haue a prouerbe
in England which is this: Loue me and loue my dogg,
so contrarie, it may be said, Hate me and hate all that
comes from me: the which questionlesse is proued true
amongest the greatest number of them: but especially
in the wild parts, where in the stead of liking, they fall
to lothing any thing that cometh from the English:
where they had rather continue in their owne beastly
and brutishe manners, then refoꝛme themselves to any
confoꝛmitie either in their maners either in their con-
ditions. And in their fashions of their apparell they be
as confused as in the rest: the men goe moze beastly and
sauage like then the people of America, where the peo-
ple in most places hath euer scene any ciuilitie: the wo-
men attired after such a manner as in Europe there are
none that doth come neere their fashion: but hath grea-
test similitude to the maner of the Aegyptian women.
Although this seeme but a small fault to be picked out
of a number of others: yet it were verie good that this
faulke were refoꝛmed. And seeing we goe aboute to a-
mende them in their manners and to bzing them to ci-
uilitie, it coulde not be amisse likewise that they were
brought into such apparell, as to the view of the worlde
they might seeme to haue some meane of modestie: foꝛ
as a man may be partely coniectured by his apparrell, &
may wel be deuined what exercise he doth professe (as the
clergie by their apparrell are knowne from the laytie, &
lawyer from the merchaunt, and so of others: and a-
mongest all men and in all places & countries it is holde
conuenient, that so it shoulde be:) Euen so questionlesse
the manner of apparell is of no small effecte to feede
mens mindes either with grace or disgrace: as foꝛ ex-
ample,

Of Souldiers.

ample. A proude man clothed in sumptuous or costely array, it maketh him the more proud and haucie in his mind: or a whoze that is bedect in light and garish apparell, it maketh her in her mind to be the more whoreshe. And like as a foole is not in his right kind without a yellowe coate, so sonde or vndercent apparell, may somtimes confuse the wisest heads. As to see a learned preacher go into a pulpit pretending to make some solemne sermon, appareled like some lustie courtier, it woulde not onely breede laughter to his audience, but it woulde likewise so amase him in his owne conceipte, that it woulde be a greates let to the tale that he ment to tell. And like as Semiramis, when shee gouerned the Assyrians, tooke on her y habit of a man, the better to shewe her manly courage: and as Sardanapalus disguised himselfe into womanes attyre, the more liuely to expresse his effeminate minde: so I am of this opinion, on that these Irish do the rather desire this rogissh manner of apparel, because it is most sutable and best agreeing to their conditions: neither were it amisse if by compulsion they were restrained from it as much as conveniently it might be.

I doe heere ouer passe many other abuses, neither will I speake of an infinite number of priuie practises, that are sometimes vsed in the Superlatiue degree, you may choose howe you will construe it, either to some of those that are of noble parentage in the countrie, and gentlemen that bee of the greatest credite, and woulde be accompted the best Subiectes: either else to the number of their vndermines whiche in dede dothe excede in the highest degree, but some times rather then faile, you may

C. y.

con

Of Souldiers.

constitue it both for the one and the other, so expert they be in denysing of trecherie, and in the mainteining and relieving of rebelles, and that by so many meanes and such sundrie shiftes, as it passeth my conceipt, neither will I take vpon mee to discipher. But these matters cannot be proued, and therefore may the easilier passe: but I cannot see almoste howe it is possible, that any thing should be proued that should make against them, for there are verie fewe amongst them that will make any conscience to forswear them selues vpon a booke: but if Ananias, with Saphira his wife, receiued bothe death, but for denyng of that portion which was their owne, what punishment could be sufficient for these people, that will so ordinarily venter **G D**, and that almost for enery trifle?

Actes. 5.

And here, (I knowe,) I shall offende the patience of a great number, for that they finde me still in one manner of songe, and woulde exact nothing but punishments, and sharpe corrections vpon them: but I trust I shall not offende those that be good and honest, considering that my penne toucheth not in any respect touching them. And I knowe there are in the countrie many honourable houses, as the houses of Ormunde and Kildare, the Lord of Doluine, the Lord of Vp-rosore, the Lord of Louche, with many other (though not exprest by name) both honourable and worshipfull, and others of inferiour calling, that may not any wayes be defected with any thing that I haue written. So I knowe likewise, that there be a great number, of such as I haue spoken of, that are not to be reformed, but by most bitter and sharpe punishments in deede: for the better triall, howe long time haue they bene gouerned by sundrie noble Princes, but nowe lastly,
and

Of Souldiers.

and especially, by a moste gracious Quene, who of her greate mercie and clemencie, spendeth not onely such revenues as rise by the countrie it selfe: but also addeth no small portion out of her owne purse, onely to keepe the countrie in quietnesse if it might be: which otherwise would be at strife and warres in it selfe, the one killing and murdering the other, as it daily falleth out notwithstanding: and with no lesse care, shee prouideth for them good & wholsome lawes and ordinances, where of them selues they would rather like like beastes, bothe of lawe and all good order: where otherwise, if her maiestie pretended to rule by rigour ouer them, who knoweth not that shee coulde sende suche a power ouer into Irelande, as in verie short space, would make quicke riddance of all that ragged rowt, which nowe so vereth and molesteth the countrie: but shee rather seeketh vs mercie to reclaime them, and with lenitie to reforme the, sending them ouer from time to time, such gouernors to direct them, as are neither founde to be rigorous, cruell, nor mercilesse. But how muche is the countrie bounde to her Maiestie at this present, in sending that noble gentleman, Sir Henrie Sidney, to be their gouernour, the onely man that they themselves haue so muche desired, and so long time wished for: whose onely carke and care, hath bene to seeke the countries Common wealth, and the quietnesse of the people. And with what humanitie and gentlenesse, hath he still continued his gouernement: what pittie and mercie hath he from time to time extended to those that little deserue it: considering with what treason, with what trecherie, with what fraude, and with what deceit, they requite him: There is no hope of their prout ise, no holde of their woꝛde, no cre-

Of Souldiers.

dite in their othe, noꝛ no trueth in their dealings towarde him.

Therefore, to conclude as I began at the first, there needes no longer circumstance, noꝛ better triall to proue, that courtesie in the Irishe gouernement, is not the readiest way to winne: but onely by seuerer iustice without mercie, to him that shall offende: foꝛ this hope of forgiveness is the onely marring of all together.

Thus farre I haue spoken partly by report, and as it were by vox populi: but if vox populi be vox Dei, as some will affirme, it is not onely the Irishe alone, that altogether confuseth the gouernement, but sometimes there is falshood in fellowship played amongst the English: but let him that is guiltie accuse him selfe: I speake but by report. And seeing I am entred into reportes, I will not let to make report howe a great many do reporte, that some of those that be sent ouer, to be ayders and assistaunts to the gouernement, and suche as should helpe to bould out such matters, haue greater care to seeke their owne gaine, and to make them selues riche: yea, and so they may be rewarded with a bzibe, will rather seeke to helpe couer and cloake suche causes, then to giue their consentes to punish them: such is the effect of this filthie vice couetousnesse, that when it once intrageth the mindes of men, it draweth from them all feare, religion, loue, reuerence, and knowledge of G D D: it peruerteth iustice and true dealing towarde men: and he that thirsteth onely foꝛ gaine, of foꝛce must runne into actions of iniuries and oppzessions.

The effect of
couetousnesse.

And now to shewe what reportes runnes amongst the ministers of the lawes, whereof some be English, and

Of Souldiers.

and some be Irish.

The Irish (they say) fauour no English mennes causes, but soades them off with further delayes then may well stand with lawe or reason. The English yet be founte to be most indifferent, for they respect no countries, but fauour his cause that hath moste money to brybe them: such parcialitie there is vsed amongst them, and so farre they be estranged from pietie and iustice, that the miserable poore oppressed people, doe holde it lesse euill to suffer their iniuries, then to pleade their suites, befoze such as haue greater regarde to the brybes that are giuen them, then eyther to the equitie or innocencie of their causes.

Thus, I haue not thought it good, with secret silence to dissemble and smother inwardly in my minde, what I haue heard: considering, that men ought rather to esteeme the wordes of him that telleth the trueth with simplicitie, then y smooth speeches of him that speaketh all to currie fauour, and yet in deede saye nothing that is woorthie of commendation.

And thus, wishing to Irelande as good successe, as he that was bozne in the countrie, I retorne to my first purpose to speake againe of Souldiers: neyther shall I neede spende any longer time, in that I pretended to proue: that to become Souldiers, or warfaring men, is no profession for those that be honest: considering that there is alreadie sufficiently said, to those that be reasonable. Wherefore now I will direct my tale to the poore Souldiers of Englande, whose number as it is verie small, so their case is likewise most miserable, if it be well considered.

First in the time of warres, they spare not in their countries behalfe, to forsake their wife, childre, father, mother,

C. iiii.

mother,

The Souldiers
of England in
most miserable
estate.

Of Souldiers.

To what extre-
mities souldiers
doe comit them
selues in the
time of warre.

mother, brother, sister, to leaue their friendes, and onely betake them against their enemies: contented to yeld them selues to continual watch, ward, fasting, hunger, thirst, cold, heate, trauaile, toyl, ouer hills, woods, deserts, wading through riuers, where many sometimes lose their liues by the way, lying in the feeld, in raine, wind, frost & snowe, aduenturing against y enemy, the lack of lims, the losse of life, making their bodies a fence & bulwark, against the shott of the cannon.

But the warres being once finished, & that there is no neede of them, howe be they rewarded, howe be they cherished, what accounte is there made of them, what other thing gaine they then slaunder, misreporte, false impositions, hatred and despight?

A colder
warde.

Howe small is the number, that be in England of sufficient men, such I meane as be able in deede, in the time of seruice, to stand their countrie in stead, to any purpose, and yet how many of this small number, hath euer bene brought to credit, or bene any thing preferred, for the seruice they haue done? There be some that haue serued twentie or thirtie yeares as occasions haue hapened, & in the warres haue spent part of their blood, and receiued many greuous woundes, but their estate of liuing, I woulde to God were knowne to those that might amend it.

There is that small garrison of Barwicke, whiche for the value of their minds, and the noblenesse of their courage, I knowe may well compare with the best: but for their other riches, I haue seene a hundred Spaniards or a hundred French men as they haue bene marching towards seruice, that only but in their apparell & furniture, haue been more welthy then all y souldiers of Barwicke were able to make, if all their ri-
ches

Of Souldiers.

thes were bzought together : and yet if there were any occasion to vse any number of men from thence must the conducters and leaders be bzought, that shoulde be founde able and sufficient when it came to the pinche. Some others there be, wherof many be dispersed here & there, for want of other stay of living, but sure the number is so small, as I feare me it woulde be found, if any soudaine assaulte should be offered vnto vs.

The number of
able souldiers so
small in England.

God preserve her maiestie therfore, long to gouerne & reigne ouer vs, thzough whose pzouidence & foresight, we haue bene so long time preserved in peace and quietnesse.

And O Englande, woulde to God so many pzesidents of others mishapes, might make thee take heed, and call thy selfe to remembzaunce, consider thy enemies be not so secrefe, but they be as malicious : and haue staide all this while neither for want of quarell, neither for want of will, if they them selues were once at quiet : noz flatter not thy selfe bicause thou hast inioyed a peaceable time, that it shall still indure : but remember the longer it hath bene calme, the sooner the storme is looked for, and the greater the rage when it falleth.

If thou dost well looke into thy selfe, and ponder thy owne case, thou shalt finde that if any soudaine alarm shoulde happen, thou shalt finde that thy greatest want shalbe onely of those men that now thou holdest in so small estimation, and dost esteeme of so litle accompt.

If thou thinkest thy great numbers of vnttrained men, are sufficient to defende thee, doe but remember what happened to Antwerpe, where they wanted neither men, noz any other prouisiō for the wars. But they wanted souldiers to direct them, and men of vnderstanding to incourage them : For the want of knowledge, breedeth the want of courage : as Solomon saith : A

F.

• wise

Of Souldiers.

Prou. 24. wise man is euer stronger: yea, a man of vnderstanding increaseth with strength: for with wisdom must warre be taken in hand, and where there are many that can giue counsell, there is the victorie, &c.

And Xerxes who with a great armie, was put to the worst, but with 300. Lacedemonians, confessed that he forced not so much for the multitude, as for their knowledge & experience. I could here rehearse many other examples of like effect, but I leaue the til other occasion, & wil conclude with what care and prouision sundrie noble Princes haue prouided for their souldiers, not onely in the time of war when they haue had need of them: but aswel in the time of peace for their seruice already done, that they should not wante: according to the minde of Alexander Seuerus, who saith that, The souldier is worthy his keeping in the time of peace, that hath honestly serued his countrie in the time of warr, although for age he cannot trauell, his counsel yet may not be spared. And **Eccle. 27.** Jesus the sonne of Sirach saith, There be two things that greeue my hearte, and in the thirde is a displeasure come vpon me, when an experte man of warre suffereth scarcenesse & pouertie, when men of vnderstanding and wisdom are not set by, and when one departes from righteousnesse to sinne, &c.

Octavian Augustus honored souldiers with this law: What so euer thou be that shalt serue with vs in wars x. yeeres space, so that thou shalt be xl. yeeres olde, whether thou hast serued on foote or on horseback, hereafter be thou free from warres, be thou Heros, an olde souldier: let no man forbid thee the citie, the stræte, the temple, nor his house: let no man lay any blame to thy charge, put any burden vpon thee, or aske thee any moe: if thou shalt offend in any thing, looke to be chastised by Caesar & by no man else. In all dishonestie that men shall

Of Souldiers.

shall commit, I will that thou be the Judge, and discloser, whether they be private or officers: that which thou shalt say and affirme for trueth, no man shall reprove for false. I will that all wayes and places be open for thee, thou shalt have authoritie to eate and drinke at Princes tables: thou shalt verely have wages of the common treasure to finde thee and thy household: let her be preferred before other women, whome thou shalt take to be thy lawefull wife: and he that thou shalt call infamous, let him be wicked & infamous: thou being Heros, shalt have authoritie to beare armes, badges, names, & ornamentes, which be decent for a King: doe what thou liste in every place and countrie where thou comest, if any doe thee wrong let his head be cutt off, &c.

Charles the great, when he had translated the name of the Empire to the Germanes, after the Saxons and Lombards were vanquished, gaue this honoz to his souldiers saying: You shall be called Heroes, the companions of Kinges, & Judges of offences: live ye hereafter boide of labour, counsell Kinges in the publique authoritie, reprove dishonest thinges, favour women, helpe Orphanes, let not Princes lack your counsell, and aske of them meate, drinke, and monie, if any shall denie it, let him be vnrenowned and infamous: if any doe you iniurie, let him knowe he hath offended the Emperors maiestie: but ye shal forsee, that ye distaine not so great an honour, and so greate a priuiledge, gotten by the great labour of warre, with dronkenesse, rayling, or any other vice: to the end, that that whiche we haue giuen you for glorie, redounde not to punishment, whiche we will for ever reserue to be giuen you by vs and our successors, Emperours of Rome, as often as you shall transgresse.

I.ij.

And

Of Souldiers.

And Polycrates of Samos, appointed liuing for the wiues and childzen of the dead souldiers, streightly commaunding, that no man shoulde offende them, or do them any wrong.

Solon made this lawe, that those childzen whose fathers had spent their liues in fighting in the defence of the common wealth, should be brought vp at the charges of the common treasure.

But what doe I stand reciting of straunge histories, forpassed so many yeres sithens? Why do I not remember, the French men and Spaniards, amongst whom at this instant, men of seruice be not a litle honoured, and had in estimation? And goe to the drunken contries of Denmarke and Swethen, and those other partes of the East, and how be souldiers cherrished, and men of seruice prouided for?

The manner of
England in the
time of neede.

Every one hath
his time.

Souldiers the
greatest vnthrifcs
that liue in these
seasons, there
are verie fewe
of them that are
able to giue his
felowe a dinner.

But in Englande, when there is occasion to vse them, then, Helpe noble captaiues, Now shewe your selues couragious, & worthe souldiers: but seruice once being ended, they be quite forgotten, that euer there was any neede of them, for any thing they are like to get. And yet I must impute it but to their own misfortuns, & not for any want of liberaltie: for who knoweth not, how manie fees, pensions, stipends, & many other offices, are daily to be giuen in Englande, but very fewe fall to the shares of these vnchristie souldiers: but suche doe many times gett them, as can thriue by them, and play the good husbandes: such as can build sumptuous houses, purchase faire liuinges, runne in the Quenes debte, till they come in the thousandes, and then the price of a beluet gowne, or some odde hundred poundes, bestowed upon some of Quenes women, wil stall the debt. The Queene will be content to take it by a hundred or two hundred poundes a yeare, this is the way to thriue, these be

Of the time.

be the fellows that do gaine. But how ingratfull may that countrie be called, where those that must fight in the defence, and offer them selues to the slaughter in their countries quarell, doe onely receiue for recompense, but hatefull wordes, slanderous reportes, and are no better accounted of, then as the abiects, and holden inferiours to euery other people?

Souldiers of all others had in least estimation.

Here might be many other things said in the behalfe of souldiers, the whiche I omit, and leauing them to the benefite of better fortune, will come to speake of the abuse of the time.

¶ The third part speaking *of the time.*



I knowe there be some will condemne me (as I haue saide) to write any thing of warre, in this so peaceable a time, the causes I haue shewed be partly befoze: for there be many vnto whome the name of warre is so odious, that with a good will they would neuer heare them spoken of: and will coniecture that I rather allow of warre then peace, that will so busie my selfe to write any thing of them, now while there is no neede.

But those that be wise can very well consider, that there is no man ought more rather to desire peace, then suche as by warre may soonest catch harme.

Which are souldiers.

I speake this in mine owne excuse, considering that I haue serued her Maiestie, as occasion hath happened, and am still in a readinesse to serue, when neede shall require.

I. iij.

And

Of the time.

And as I know it is but the part of a foole at the sea, to wishe for a storme, when the wether is calme: so I knowe likewise in the time of calme, to provide for a storme, is the poynt of a wise mariner: for who so well considereth, to what disposition Kinges and Princes be commonly inclined vnto; in these latter dayes, whiche is to haue greater felicitie, with Tyrannie to offende others, then with iustice and equitie to keepe their owne: it ought therefore with great diligence to be provided for, that like as in the time of warre, circumspect care of peace may not be omitted: so in the time of peace, such thinges may be foresene, apperteining to the war, that the want of warlike provisions, be not preiudiciall to the maintenaunce of this swete and quiet peace.

And the very occasion that moueth me to write, is to wish that in England we were expert warriours, though not warre louers: and that we had many that were wise, rather then willing souldiers. But where peace is so inordinatly desired, that in preferring therof they forgett all Partiall exercises, whiche is the very preseruer, and maintainer of peace, (according to the mind of Valerius Maximus, who saith That the custodie of blessed peace consisteth in the knowledge of warre.) It can not be chosen therefore, but those people be ever nearest their owne harme, that will so carelessly spende the time of peace, as though they shoulde neuer more haue occasion to enter into warre.

And generally it is seene, where pleasure is preferred so excessiuely, and the people followe it so inordinately, that they lye and wallowe in it so carelessly, they commonly end with it most miserably.

For howe many Cities, how many Countries, whiche sometime most of all flourished, onely by reason
of

The custodie of
peace consisteth
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of warre.
Careles people
nearest their own
harme.

Pleasure bring-
eth paine.

Of the time.

of their farre stretched Empire, glorie and renowne, purchased by famous and noble actes: are now beaten flat to the ground, couered with mould, and almost out of remembrance?

Where are now become the dominions of the Assyrians and Persians? What is become of the glorie of the riche Citie of Athens: whiche had bene so often forewarned by y^e excellent Orator Demosthenes? Where is now the pompe and power of the Macedonians? What hath wasted the fame and renowne of the citie of Rome, that it had not bene perpetuall?

What other thing then this inordinate delicacie, riot, & ydlenes. For when they ouer neglected the feats of war, laide aside their weapons, sought more for their owne priuate aduancement, then for the liberties of their countrie: then came their kingdomes to calamitie, and beganne headlong to fall to the ground: and then in the steade of frugalitie sprong vp outrageous riot: in steade of hardinesse and courage in the warres, exceeding tendernes, and nicenesse, both of body and minde: and thus when the knowledge of souldiers fare was extinguished, then vninsatiable desire of riches made entrie amongst them, & nothing so much practised, as to haue experience in buying and selling: that in the ende, the Emperiall crowne was bought and sold for money amongst them: and the Romane Empire whiche so mightily had flourished, was now made subiecte to common thraldome.

Idlenesse and delicacie the decay of many common wealthes.

But for that there are some, that are nothing moued with reading of histories, monuments, or the examples of auncient writers, vnlesse they haue knowen the like in their age, or saene wth their eyes, or as it were touched with their finger, I will therfore put such in remembrance, of y^e state & conditiō, of Holland, Zeland, Flanders.

F.iiiij.

Brabant,

Of the time.

Brabant, and other partes of the lowe countries: Howe many yeares continued they in peace and quietnesse, in dzonkennesse, in lecherie, in riot, in excesse, in gluttonie, in wantonnesse, (I will not say in the like predicament that we nowe remaine in Englande) the whiche to continue, they were contented to submit themselves, to any maner of thraldome, and to every kind of flauerie, to receiue the Spaniards into their cities and towne, which were naturally seated so strong, y no fozeine prince could forcably haue made entrie into them.

Howe the Spaniards gouerned them, with what rigour they ruled them, & howe tyrannously they reigned ouer them, is so well known as I will not spende the time to relate: in the end, to disburden them selues from that which befoze they had yealded vnto, by necessity they were infozced to goe to Mars his schole, & to practise the art of warre, whiche had euer bene moste lothsome vnto them, not without great ruine & wzack, of many noble cities and townes, and with no lesse spoyle and hauocke, of infinite goodes and riches.

For like as the desire to haue dominion ouer many kingdomes, and to haue souereigntie ouer far stretched Empires, is a common infirmitie amongst kings and princes: so there is nothing may sooner prouoke them to giue attempt, then where they see such forgetfulnesse amongst the people: that slouth and idlenesse beareth the whole sway among them: As Plutarch, in his Apophthegmaes, maketh report of a famous capteine, to whom a certeine reader of the Atheniens made his complaint, that the men of armes in his campe, reproched them of Athens, to whom the capteine made answer, that as the thing that is well kept, is hardly lost, and that nothing prouokes the theefe sooner then negligence: So, if the Atheniens, had tied care and circum,

When the steed
is stolen they
shut the stable
dore.

Where the stile
is lowe euery
dogge will ouer.

Of the time.

inspection to their wordes and dedes, they had neuer salne into the handes of the Lacedemonians.

And Cambyſes the father of Cyrus king of Perſia, being asked by what meanes Cities might beſt be kept in ſafetie, answered, if they that kept the ſame cities, do thinke they can neuer be warie ynough of their enemies: the which in the Maſſilians was charily performed, who kept both warde and watch in their cities in the time of peace, as if they had bene continually beſed and troubled with warre, and to that purpoſe, inſtituted ſundrie good ordinaunces, vpon the holie dayes to ſee their ſouldiers ſtanding vpon the walls, and exerciſing them ſelues in the ſeates of armes. And that notable Capteine Epaminondas, while the citizens of Thebes gaue them ſelues to feaſting, banquetting & bellie chere, ranne haſtily to arme him ſelfe, and marched towards the citie walles, to the end the reſt might be the ſafelyer dronke, and aſwell to ſignifie, that the ſafetie of their Citie ſhould at no time be forgotten.

Miſtraſtfulneſſe
a verie good re-
medie.

And although king Solomon, who in the holie Scriptures is called Rex pacificus, and was promiſed by the mouth of God a peaceable reigne, and was ſtill buſied, and turmoyled with the buylding of the holie temple: yet notwithstanding, he was not forgetfull to furniſhe his garrisons, with innumerable men of warre, horſes and charriots. To be ſhort, there is, neither hath been any well governed Common wealth, but the lawes of Armes be as carefully provided for, as any other citie cauſes: but where delicacie once preuaileth, and getteth the vpper hande, there adueſe Martiall mindes: & farewell magnanimitie, where ſlouthfulneſſe hath once made entrie: for the nobleneſſe that is to be looked for in a Princely and hautie courage, though it bee cheefely wrought by the force of the minde: ſo the bodie
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G. must

Of the time.

must be exercised, and brought in such plight, as it may be made able to follow payne and trauell.

Were not the olde souldiers of Hanibal, in lying but one winter in Capua, spending the time in wantonnesse amongst the delicate dames, so effeminated & infeebled, both in bodie and mind, that they neuer did any thing afterwarde, that was worthy of report?

And Xerxes being offended with the Babylonians, because they trayterously had shooke from him, when he had againe brought them vnder: he forbade them to beare any more weapons, and further commaunded them, that they shoulde singe to the Lute, and other instrumentes, learne to keepe harlots, & haunte tauerne: which policie hee of purpose prepared, to weaken their courages, whereby he might the better keepe them vnder awe.

The knowledge of warre therefore and the exercise of armes are especially to be sought, neither can I tell whether any thing be more noble, by the whiche so greate dominions and noble Empires, haue bene purchased, kingdomes enlarged, princes preserved, iustice mainteined, good lawes protected, and the Common wealth defended.

Great is the glorie in the knowledg of warre therefore: neither hath the citie of Athens, atchieued so great renoume and glorie, although it merited to be called the mother of all artes & sciences, as Rome hath done, onely by magnanimitie, and force of Martiall might: which brought such reputation to their Comonwealth, that farre and straunge regions, sought their aliaunce and friendship, and thought them selues assured against their enemies, if they had confederation with them, & in the end, they grewe to such admiration, that for their lenitie and surmounting courtesie, they were of all men
be

Of the time.

beloued, & for their valiante magnanimitie, they were of all men feared. Neither was this magnificence, vpholden by doing wrong & iniurie, for they neuer attempted warres but for things in claime, or in defence of league friends. When as Cicero saith: The Senat might rather haue bene tearmed, the protection, haue, & refuge of kings, people, & nations, more truly then the Empire of the world. Neither were they found rashe to enter into warrs heedily, although they had occasiō, as did appeare at y^e citie of Sagunto, where y^e people of Carthage brake y^e league, & defied peace: yet the Senate sent thither Ambassadour Fabius Maximus, wth two tables, the one containing peace, the other warres, putting the election to their owne choice, as it liked them selues to choose, although the Romans them selues, could best defend their cause. But did the Romanes gaine this glozie by entering themselves, to liue in delicat idlenes, in dicing, in rarding, in danling, in whozing, in banqueting, in reueling, & in roysting: no, but ordayned most sharpe & bitter punishments to expell them, & with disgrace to dant those, that were the practisers, and followers of them.

Where contrarily, to prouoke & prick forward Partiall mindes, and manly wightes, to the studie of chivalrie & Partiall affaires, they ordeined glorious triumphes, liberall rewards, and honozable titles: which was the verie cause, that the citie grew to be so great, & large in Empire: for where valiaunce, & prowesse, was so honozably rewarded, not onely noble men, but also inferiour persons, were so inflamed with desire of renowne, that no daunger was lefte vndelte withall, nor no perill left vnproued, where there was glozie to be gayed, or y^e safetie of their contrie might be preserved.

The two Decii, by race and birth were no gentlemen bozne, yet by their valiaunce and fortitude, they aspired

Of the time.

to the highest type of dignitie in their Commonwealt, and in their countries defence, consecrated themselves, as valiant and bowed vessels, to glorie & immortallitie.

Neither was Lucius Martius, bozne but of a meane parentage, yet for his puissanee shewed in Spaine, he receiued of his countrie, great honoꝛ and principallitie.

By these means, the liberties of their countries were most strongly defended, and the indifferencie of their lawes were chiefly mainteined, where wel doing is so liberally rewarded.

For what greater dishonour may there be in a Common wealt, then where worthie acts & high attempts receiue but colde rewarde? What rewarde may that countrie thinke too much to bestowe on him that hath not spared his owne life to fight in the defence?

There be sundrie examples in the holy scripture, tending to the same effect: for when the children of Israel, were pursued by Pharaoh, & that they began to stagger in the promises of God: the Tribe of Iuda, did manifestly shewe forth, farre greater courage and valiance, then the rest, who lingered not nor drew backe, but with a marueilous constancie, by the example of Moses aduentured first the sea, by whose stout stomaches, the rest were encouraged to followe: For which facte, the people of Iuda, were euer after wardes, more honoured then the rest, and such had the principallitie amongst the twelue tribes, as were descended of this tribe of Iuda.

Cronicles. 2.
Cap. 8.

In like manner Solomon, made the Hethites, the Amorites, the Phereites, the Heuites, and the Iebusites, to become tributaries, and to labour in the buildinges: but of the children of Israel, he made men of warre, capitaines, great Lordes, and rulers,

And Socrates in a certeine fable bleseth these moꝛdest
All

Of the time.

All you that liue in one citie, are brethré, being streightly linked and vnited together : but when God created you, he gaue not euerie one a like propertie, for they that were most mete to rule, he tempered with gold: & those that in defence of their countrie would valiantly assise kings & princes, he mingled them with siluer: & to such as shoulde applie themselves to tillage, and other meane occupations, he bestowed brasle and yron : nowe it falleth out generally, that they ingender children like to them selues : but sometimes it happeneth, a golden father to haue a childe of siluer : some other time, a siluer father, to haue a golden sonne . He willeth therefore, that they shoulde take in no one thing, more speciall regarde, then diligently to search, with what mettall their childrens mindes be tempered with, so that if there be found any brasle or yron in their childrens senses, they shoulde assigne them, such a trade conuenient, & agreeing with their grosse & rude nature: but if they finde in them any golde, or siluer, they should bestowe on them honourable roomes, & that they should be trained vpp, in the knowledge of Martiall affaires.

The Romanes, ordeined for that purpose, a long & spacious fielde, which they called, Campus Martius, wherein the youth of the citie, were exercised in Martiall feates, and to enure their bodies, both for their owne health, & also that they might be made, the more profitable members for their Comon wealth in the time of warres.

The Lacedemonians vsed their childezen to goe barefooted, exercising them in running, in leaping, & in casting y darde, in which exercises, they were continually practised: from whence Diogenes, on a time returning, & going to Athens, was asked from whence he came, and whither he woulde: I come (saide he) from amongst
G. iij. men,

Of the time.

men, and am going among women.

I wonder if Diogenes were nowe living, and going into England, whither he would say he were going, if he were demaunded: where we be wholie nouseled in wantonnesse, and onely nourished in deintinesse, both in minde, manners, and dyet: where we be altogether made straungers to Martiall actions, and vtterly alienated from lawes, and deedes of armes, where no consideration is had of Martiall mindes: where prouision for defence is neuer called in question.

Here peradventure, some will say vnto mee, Good sir, if you would but put on your spectacles, and looke into the Tower of London, you might see that neyther ordinaunce, shott, poulder, pike, caluer, armour, nor any other furnitures conuenient for the warres were any whit lacking: from thence, if it pleased you but to sayle downe in Grauesend Barge, you haue but fve myles to Rochester, where you might likewise take view of so wortheie a flete of royall ships, as no Prince in Europe may make comparison with the like. Call you not these prouisions of defence, where no munitions fit for the warres, are any whit wanting?

Merie true in deede, which doth argue the speciall care her Maiestie hath euer had, not onely in making of such prouision, but also at sundrie times, she hath likewise instituted diuerse good ordinaunces for the training of men, the which hath bene still discontinued, by her subiectes, such as will pyne at the spending of one pound of poulder towarde the practising of those that should fight for their safetie.

Wherefore I need vse no other aunswere, then king Philip vsed to that noble Capteine Antipater, which was this.

What fearest thou man, any Capteine of Athens?
Their

Of the time.

Their Gallies and their Peere are but trifles and toyes vnto mee: For what account is to be made of those fellows that giue themselves to daunsing, hoyting, banquetting, and to bellie cheere, that if Demosthenes onely were not amongst them, I would sooner gett Athens then Thebes, or Thessalia, &c. So, to what effect serue all these warrelike furnitures, where there are not men experienced to vse them: & where men be trayned onely in pleasure, howe vnapt be they to indure the perplexities of warre: and howe hardly are they fashioned to the vse of weapons, that neuer haue had any exercise in them: and with what difficultie are they prepared to the field, when they haue neuer bene accustomed to marche?

But I haue hearde many say, that souldiers may well be trayned in one moneth, and made fit for the warres: and in dedde I am of this opinion, that he that in one moneth wil not learne the vse of his weapon, whereto he shall be sorted, and to learne to marche in order of array, being thoroughly instructed by a diligent and painefull Capteine, I am fully resolved, that that man will neuer make good souldier. But as our Souldiers in Englande are acustomably leuied, a Capteine shall haue muche to doe, to make a greate parte of them for euer being Souldiers at all.

But admitte, that Souldiers may be trained and made readie in one moneth, yet during that space, our enimies would committ greater spoiles vpon vs, then wee should be able to recouer againe in sixe weekes after.

Moreouer in the day of seruice, I had rather haue one thousande such as haue already scene and entred skirmishe with the enimie, then foure thousande of such halfe made Souldiers, that are but trained by, as it were

Of the time.

at a Midsummer sight, or at the fetching home of a Maypole. For proofe hereof, I could shewe many examples, but it were but in vaine, considering there is no man of reason, but will conceiue it to be true: and such as haue experience will confesse I am nothing deceived in my opinion.

And to saue the trueth, if in Englande we shoulde haue neede to vse any reasonable number, there woulde hardly be founde conductors, such as be sufficient in deede for the training of them.

Battalus an
effeminate man.

For Gentlemen that are descended of honourable families, in these dayes, giue themselves rather to become Battalus knightes, then Partiaill wights, & haue greater desire to be practised in Carpet trade, then in that kinde of vertue, which extendeth it selfe to the common profite, and preservation of the countrie.

Tull. officiis.
Lib.i.

And I cannot but marueile, what moueth so many men, to make such great account of their gentilitie, that they thinke themselves woorthie of such honour and estimation: and yet haue no regarde to the renoume or preeminence, that is annexed vnto it: for as Cicero saith: Truly, the best inheritaunce that fathers leave to their children, and more worthie then all liuelod, is the glorie of vertue, and worthie deedes, whereunto to be a slaine, it is to be accompted both vice and shame.

But what reputation bring they to their houses, that licentiouslly, in ryot, rometh to and fro, not knowing in what fashon to disguise them selues, what countenance they should beare in the streates, nor with what curiositie they should giue intertainment, furnished with three or foure Frenche, Italian, or Spanishe wordes, thinking that the whole glorie consisted in being newfangled in their apparell, straunge in their conceiptes, and as daintie in their dietes, as dame Jollie
her

her selfe, when shee is going of her firste childe. To be
shorte, in Englande, Gentlemen haue robbed our wo- A good exchang
men of their mindes, and our women haue bereeued vs
of halfe our apparell.

Where Gentlemen ought rather to indeuour them-
selues to such exercises of vertuous actes, whereby they
might giue such cleare light, and purchase true fame to
their posteritie, according as their predecessours haue
left vnto them, of which they them selues do so migh-
tily boast of: and especially, to giue themselues to suche
exercises, wherein labour prepareth the bodie to har-
dinesse, and the minde to couragiousnesse, neither suffer-
ring the one to be marred with tendernes, nor the other
to be hurt with idlenesse.

As we reade of Sardanapalus, who was scozned as
an effeminate King, who chose rather to sitt & spinne a-
mongst women, then to learn to weld weapons: against
whom, when Belochas and Arbases made insurrection,
he fled and durst not shewe him selfe in the fielde.

Xenophon maketh mention howe Hercules being
but a young man, musing wherevnto he might applie
his noble minde, there appeared vnto him two goodly
young women, the one verie gorgeous and bzaue, with
ringes on her fingers, a chayne about her necke, her
haire set and frizeled, with pearles and diamonds in her
eares: the other sober in her chæere, comely in her appa-
rell, modest in her behauiour, shamefast in her counte-
naunce. The first saide: Hercules, if thou wilt serue me,
thou shalt haue gold and silver ynough, thou shalt feede
deintily, thou shalt liue princely, thou shalt inioy plea-
sures, embrace delightes, possesse mirth. In fine, thou
shalt haue all things to thine owne contentation, that
apperteine to ease, rest, and quietnesse. Then spake the
other with demure countenaunce: If thou wilt serue

Of the time.

The cause why
gentlemen do
not desire to be
souldiers,

The maner of
our young
courtiers .

But nothing in
deedes,

mée Hercules, thou shalt be a Victoꝝ of Conquerours, thou shalt subdue kingdomes, and ouerthrowe kinges: thou shalt be aduanced vnto fame, renowned in the world, and shalt deserue praise both of man and womā. Hercules perceiuing the idle seruice of the first, and the fame and renowne that was to be gained by the second, chose her foꝝ his maistris: and I thinke sent the other into England, where at this pꝛesent shee is dutifully seruēd. But I thinke the verie occasion why many doe not indeuour themselves to pꝛactise to be souldiers now in England, is because they see those fewe that be there already to thꝛiue so ilfaouredly by their occupation, & they rather seeke to indeuour themselves, where there is either pleasure oꝝ pꝛofite to be gained, which is not in souldierfare, & therefore makes them to become either Courtiers, Lawyers, oꝝ Lovers. The Court, I confesse is a place requisite foꝝ gentlemen to knowe, so their mindes might not be seduced with the vanities thereof, whereby they should be enticed, not to folloꝝe other exercises, tending moze to their honour and estimation: & foꝝ sake those places, where greater gloꝛie is to be gayned then any doth ordinarily atteine vnto, that consumes their daies wholly in the court: foꝝ he y^e fully frames him self to becom a courtier, must likewise fraught his head so full of courting toyes, that there will be no roome left, to cōsider of matters aperteining moze to his credite. Foꝝ the most in number of our young courtly gentlemen thinke that y^e gꝛetest grace of courting consisteth in pꝛoude and hautie countenaunces to suche as knowe them not, to be verie faire spoken, bountifull & liberall in words to all men, to be curious in cauilling, pꝛopounding captious questions, therby to shew a singularity of their wisdomes: foꝝ the helping whereof, they diligently studie bookes foꝝ the purpose, as Cornelius

Of the time.

lius Agrippa, de vanitate scientiarum, and other like: to seeme to talke of farre and straunge countries, of the maners of the people, of the fertilitie of soyles, and by y way of communication, able to dispute of all things, but in deede to knowe nothing, to apply their pleasant wits to scoffing, quipping, gybing, and taunting, whereby they may be accompted merrie conceipted gentlemen, & with all, they must learne to play the parasites, or else I can tell them, they will neuer learne to thziue. And in their apparell, they must be verte nyce and neat, with their ruffes finely set, a greate bundle of feathers thrust into a cappe, which must likewise be of such a bignesse, that it shalbe able to holde more witt then thze of them haue in their heades. They must be rashe in their iudgements, curious in their conceiptes, they must be bold, saucie, and mallapert, which they them selues terme to be good audacitie. They must be readie to espie every mans faultes, but not to see their owne follie. But what should I stand to decypher the vanities of our courtiers, which are alreadie so painted forth in their colours, and that by so many men, as I doe but waste the time in vaine about them. I do likewise acknowledge, that the lawe is especially to be practised by gentlemen. For as Of Lawyers, the lawe it selfe is most honourable amongst men: so those that should be practisers, professors, and ministers of the lawes, ought likewise to be of credite and estimation.

But our Innes of court in these days are so furnished with shomakers sonnes, taylers sonnes, Inholders sonnes, farmers sonnes, & almost there is not so meane a man, but his sonne must go to the Innes of court, and they when they haue gotten a little lawe, because they will not mend shoes, and do as their fathers haue done befoze them, there is no ho in their getting, no measure

Of the time.

in their taking, no meane in their bzibing, no2 no reason in their extorting.

These be they, that by lawe will peruert lawe, and what one lawe doeth make, they will bzing another lawe shall marre. These be they that laughe, when o^rther men mourne, and that make them selues riche, by other mennes follies: and these be the only men that bzing Lawe and Lawyers into such exclamations.

Of Louers.

But of all other people that doe mosste surmount in vanities, are those that in such contagious passions, consume their time in loue, that as Marcus Aurelius doth affirme, he that doth once fall in loue with another, doth euen then begin to hate him selfe.

It hath many times been had in question, frō whence the furie of this maladie should spring, but the greatest parte do conclude, that the original thereof doth proceed of idlenesse.

The effect of Loue.

Loue, where it once taketh holde, it tormenteth the patients with such straunge and bitter passions, that it reduceth reason into rage, pleasure into paine, quietnes into carefulnes, mirth into madnesse, neither maketh it any exceptions of persons, eyther old o2 young, riche o2 poze, weake o2 strong, foolish o2 discrete, that as Peter Bouaystuan, a notable Frenche autho2 doth write, that if all the louers that are in the wo2ld, were made in one whole armie, there is neyther Emperour, no2 Monarche, but would be amazed to see such a companie of Bedlem foles in a cluster.

Cupides band.

But he that should take the viefwe of their countenances, gests, maners, furies & al their frantike toys, might confesse that he neuer sawe a moze strange Metamorphosis, o2 a spectacle moze ridiculous to laugh at. If at any time they haue receiued a merrie countenance of their beloued, good God how gay shall you see them in their

Of the time.

their apparell, howe cherefull in their countenaunce, howe pleasant in their conceiptes, how merrie in their modes: then they bathe in brookes of blisse, they swim in seas of ioy, they flowe in floudes of felicitie, they haue all in happinesse, they lie in swete delights, they banish all annoy.

Contrarily, if they receiue a loozing looke, then you shall see them drowned in dumps, they pleade with pitious plaintes, they crie with continuall clamours, they forge, they faine, they flatter, they lie, they forswere, otherwhiles falling into desperate modes, that they spare not to blaspheme the gods, to curse the heauens, to blame the planetes, to raile on the destinies, to crie out vpon the furies, to forge hell, to counterfeite Sifiphus, to playe Tantalus, to faine Titius, to grone with Prometheus, to burne the winter, to fræse the summer, to lothe the night, to hate the day, with a thousand other such superstitious follies, too long for me to reherse.

Now, if he be learned, and that he be able to write a verse, then his penne must plie to paint his maiestie praise, she must then be a Pallas for her witte, a Diana for her chastitie, a Venus for her face, then shee shall be praised by proportion, first her haire is wires of golde, her cheekes are made of Lillies and redde Roses, her brows be arches, her eyes Saphires at the least, her lookes lighteninges, her mouth Corall, her teeth Pearles, her pappes Alabaster balles, her bodie streight, her belly softe, from thence downwarde to her knees I think is made of Sugar Candie, her armes, her hands, her fingers, her legges, her feete, and all the rest of her bodie, shalbe so perfecte, and so pure, that of my conscience the worst parte they wil leaue in her, shalbe her soule.

But what neede I heape vp so many wordes in this
H. iij matter?

Of the time.

The best exercises for gentlemen to follow.

A speciall cause to be considered on, if it be not too late.

matter: My penne hath not y power to paint their doo-
tingdeuises: neither do I mind other wise then to wish, y
gentlemen should set aside all such trifling affaires, and
vaine follies, & to shake off those delightfull desires, and
rather to indeuour them selues, to such exercises, which
haue gained Hercules, Achilles, Theseus, Caius Marius,
Epaminondas, Themistocles, Alexander, Pyrrhus, Ha-
nibal, Scipio, Pompeie, Caesar, with diuerse others,
such immortall glorie, as neither the enuious rage of
cruel death may blemishe, neither the furious force of
fortunes fickle wheele may diminish, neither the tracte
of deuouring time shal euer be able to remoue frō me-
morie. And I woulde to God, that while time doth yet
serue vs in England, that such care might be had for the
training and practising of men, that we shoulde not be
founde altogether so carelesse, that to satisfie all our vo-
luptuous pleasures, we neuer consider the preseruati-
on of our countrie and Common wealth. So likewise,
if it be not altogether too late, as I feare me it is, I
would wishe that an other thing were looked vnto, and
that verie narrowly, wherein we haue made such a rodd
for our owne tayles, as there is no question, but in the
end it must of force endure to be our owne scourge: &
this it is. We had in Englande, so greate a benefite, as
it might haue bene vsed, as no other countrie inuiro-
ning about vs, is possessed with y like, which is the cas-
ting of yron ordinaunce: but as the prouerbe is, that e-
uerie commoditie bringeth his discommoditie, so this
commoditie, bringeth vs double discōmoditie. First in
the casting, it consumeth vs our woods and timber, in
such sort, that one of the first thinges that England shall
want, wilbe of timber for ships, which is all made ha-
uocke on, only about those yron mills, in the end comes
y merchant, who cares not for his owne priuat gaine,
what mischief he woꝝketh to his countrie: or sometimes
some

Some olde brused souldier, that hath serued the Quene in her warrs, about London, Lambeth Marshes, or the out Isles of Islington, all the dayes of his life, and in respect of his good service, must get a commission, to sell two or three hundred peeces of this yron ordinance out of the realme, that betwene M. merchant and him, I dare undertake, there is thrice as much ordinance solde out of the Realme, as is within the Realme, and that some of our merchants haue sealt. For John the Frenche man, hath bene at host with some of their ships, and Dauid Donkarde of Flushing, & his fellows haue not ben behinde, & these with other mo, were not able to go so strongly to y sea, were it not that they were furnished with our English ordinance. The Spaniards & Portugales, haue some pretie store of it. In Fraunce there is Rochel, Rosco, S. Mallous, & Deepe, their ships be generally as well furnished with our ordinance as any merchants ships in the Thames. The mightie hound of Dunkerke, & the rest of the begels that were of her consort, God knowes, had ben able to haue made but a slender crie, when they had come to chase, had it not bin for our English barks. The other parts of Flanders, Zeland, & Holland, both vpon the walles of their townes, & also in their shipping, are furnisht with the like. I haue seene euerie streete in Flushing, lie as full of English ordinance, as if it had bene the Tower Wharfe of London. To be shorte, there are diuerse townes in East Freeland, with Emden, Hambrough, Denmarke, Danske, Lubeck, Rye, Reuell, Swethen, with diuerse other cities, and towns, of those East parts, that she is but a verie meane and simple Hulke, apertaining to any of these places, which hath lesse then a dozen or sixtene peeces, of our English ordinance in her.

Such hath bene the carelesnes of this our peaceable time, that it hath not onely made vs weake, by our

Of the time.

owne neglecting the seates of armes, but also with our owne artillerie, and our warlike munitions, we haue made such stronge, as be our doubtfull friendes, nay rather, I may saye our assured enemies, as I feare we wee shall finde, if they were at quietnesse amongst themselves.

And thus once againe I can but wish, that such consideration might be had of the time that is present, as in the time that is to come, we shoulde not haue cause to rue it.

And here although I knowe my skill will not serue me, nor my occasion at this time may well permit me, to speake of Martiall discipline, howe farre it is decayed from the first ordinaunce, and institution, yet gentle reader, not doubting but thou wilt beare with me, as well for the want of the one, as for the necessitie of the other, I wil aduenture to speake some thing thereof.

The fourth parte conteining the decay of Martiall discipline.

Hauē alreadie shewed in the first parte of this booke, howe vpon sundrie quarells, warrs may be attempted without any offence to the maiestie of God.

In those warres therefore thus taken in hand, and vpon such sufficient cause, it should seeme likewise as requisite and necessarie that as great regard shoulde be vsed in the appointing of lawes, disciplines, & orders, the which not only among them selues, but also to their vtter enemies ought inuolably to be kepte according to the iustice and equitie of the cause: for the
whiche

of Martiall discipline.

which they be entred into armes.

We do finde in the holy scriptures, and that in severall places, both in the booke of Moses, in the booke of Iosua, and others, where they haue vsed no litle regard aswell in the choosing of their capteines, leaders, and conductors, as also in their prescribing lawes, & disciplines of warre, which were many times appointed by the almighty God himselfe.

But let vs peruse the examples of the Romanes, which of all other people did most exceed, aswell for the greatness of their glorie, as in all their other Martial actions, and we shall finde, that they had not onely consideration to the equitie of their cause, for the which they would enter into warres (as by these wordes of Tullie, in his first booke of Offices may better appeare: And the iustice of warre, is most sincerely described in the Phesiall lawe of the people of Rome, wherby it may be perceiued, that no warre is iust, but which either for thinges in claime is moued, or else proclaimed before, and bidden by defiance &c.) But also they had as great regard, to maintaine their quarelles, with like equitie and iustice, not suffering their capteines to enter into actions of treason or trecherie, where their warres were altogether arreared vpon causes of honestie, as by many examples they did plainly shewe.

The Romanes allowed of no warre which was vnfaithful, either that was maintained by vnlawfull meanes.

When king Pyrrhus, vnprompted had moued wars against the Romans, one Timochares whose sonne was yeoman for the mouth to the king, promised to Fabricius, then being Consul, to slea king Pyrrhus, which thing being reported to the Senat, they presently warned king Pyrrhus, to beware of suche manner of treasons, saying, the Romanes mainteined their wars with armes, and not by treason or trecherie.

Likewise, when Lucius Pius, in a banquet that hee made,

The decay

made, had filled the people of Sarmatia full of wine, and made them so dronke, that they yelded themselves subiecte to Rome, for which exploit, Lucius Pius at his returne required triumph, but when the Senators understanding the manner of his facte, caused him openly to be beheaded, and a slanderous epitaph set vpon his graue. Neither would they suffer that souldier, which amongst other being taken by Hanibal, and licenced vpon his oth to departe, conditionally that he shoulde either make returne, or else sende his raunsome, the souldier with others of his companions, being departed the campe of Hanibal, feigned an arrand backe againe, for something that he had forgotten, and thus comming to Rome, did thinke him self discharged of his oth: but the Senate allowing of no such deceit to be vsed, made a decree, that the same souldier, should be caried pinioned to Hanibal. And ten other, that in like manner, were dismissed by Hanibal, vpon their othe: were selled at a verely fine, as long as any of them did liue, for being sworn. So nobly were the Romanes disposed, and so honourably minded, that no act was allowed of amongst them, seemed it neuer so profitable, wherein was founde either fraud or deceit. And this magnificence, gate the condigne commendations of their verie enemies, & betwene whom there had been mostall hostilitie, and many times was of greater effect to subdue the, then huge or mightie armies. And as they did excel in the excellencie of these vertues, iustice and equitie, to such as were able to stande in armes against them: so likewise they did surmount in humanitie & courtesie, & in ministring of comfort, to such as they had alreadye vanquished and subdued, as by no example may be better expressed, then by a letter written, by Marcus Aurelius Emperour of Rome, to Popilio, captein of the Parthies, a notable discourse for capteines to peruse, and foloweth in this manner.

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Her. I can not denie the glorie I haue gained by this bat-
tel, neither may I hide the perplexitie I feele for thy pre-
sent misfortune; for noble mindes are bound to shew no
lesse compassion, to such as are subdued, then to expresse
ioy & gladnesse with those that are victors. Thou being
the chiefe of the Parthies, didest shewe great courage to
resist, & in me the leader of the Romanes, was found no
want of force to fight: notwithstanding, though thou
lost the battell, and I remaine possessed of the victorie,
yet as I know, that thou wilt not acknowledge this chāce
to happen for any want of stomache in thee, so it belongs
to my grauitie not to attribute it altogether to the great-
nes of my vertue, sithens God doth always minister vic-
tories, not to such as doe their duties best, but to those
that he loueth most: for the effect of al things depending
vpon God, man can haue no power to cōmaund the des-
tinie of a battell, seing he is not able to stay the course of
the least planet in heauen. Darius against Alexander,
Pompeius against Cæsar, Hanibal against Scipio, had a-
boue all equalitie, far greater armies then their enemies,
by whiche thou hast reason to conclude with mee, that
against the anger of the souereigne God, can not preuaile
most huge and mightie hostes. I meruell Popilio, that
being great in birth, valiant of stomach, welthy in goods
and mightie in estate & dignitie, why thou bearest with
such sorow, the losse of this batel, seing that in no world-
ly things fortune is more vncerteine and variable, then in
the action of warre. It is tolde me, thou drawest to so-
litarie corners, & seekest out shaded places, thou esche-
west the conuersation of men, and complainest of the
gods, which extreme perplexities, since thou wert not
wont to suffer in others much lesse oughtest thou to giue
place in thy selfe: for that the valiant man, loseth no re-
putation, for that fortune fayleth him, but is the lesse

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esteemed of, if he want discretion to beare her mutabilitie.

To assemble great armies, is the office of Princes, to leuie huge treasures, belongs to soueraigne Magistrates, to strike the enimie is the parte of a couragious capteines; but to suffer infirmities and to dissemble mishaps, is a propertie duely annexed to noble and resolute mindes: so that one of the greatest vertues that worldly men can expresse, in the common behauour of this life, is neither to rise proude by prosperitie, nor to fall into despaire by aduersitie. For Fortune hauing a free will, to come and goe when shee list: the wise man ought not to bee sorie to lose her, nor reioyce to hold her. Such as in their miserie shewe heauie countenaunce, doe well proue, that they made accompt to be alwayes in prosperitie, which is a great folly to thinke, and no lesse simplicitie to hope for: Seing the giftes and graces of Fortune haue no better thing more certeine in them, then to be for the moste part, in all things most vncerteine, according to the successe of the day, wherein thou gauest mee battell: for there thou orderedst thy campe according to a wise capteine, madest choise of the place, in great policie, tookest aduantage of the sunne, as a leader of long experience, in consideration of which things, thou hast cause to complaine against thy fortune, which faouered not thy vertue, and not blame thy discretion, wherein could bee found no errour.

Consider that in wise and graue men, it is an office, that if they cannot doe what they will, at the least they yeld to time, and are content with what they may. And as the vertuous and valiant minde, ought not to grieue for not obtaining that which he woulde, but because he desired that which he ought not: so Popilio, I wish thee take heede, that the honour which so many times thou
hast

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hast wonn, with the hazard of thy valiant person, in enterprises of warre, be not lost at this present, for want of bearing well thy fortune: assuring thee, that he beares his miserie best, that hides it most. And as of all voluble things, there is nothing more light then renowne: so in cases of warre and hazarde, it is not ynough for the valiant man to do what he may, but also he is bound to attempt nothing but what he ought: for aswell the consideration as the execution of a fact, belonges duely to a discreete minde.

I heare thou wanderest here and there in great vncerteintie of minde, fearing that if thou be taken of my souldiers thou shalt be euill intreated of mee, which if no man haue tolde thee, it is against reason thou belecue it of thy selfe, because to vs Princes of Rome, it is familiar to shewe our liberalitie to such as yeld to vs, & with others that are our prisoners to communicate in great clemencie. We raise armies against camps proudly furnished, and Cities strongly walled, but to captiues in thy condition, we hold it more honourable to minister comfort then to add increase of affliction. For as it sufficeth the valiant Capteine to fight against the enimie that resisteth him, and dissemble with him that flyeth: so the wise man ought to require no more of his enimie, then that he acknowledge that hee standes in feare of him, because to a daunted and timorous heart, is sildome lefte courage to renue an enterprise. And therefore a man takes greater reuenge, when he putteth his enimie to flight, then if he take his life from him. For the sworde dispatcheth a man in a day, but feare and remorse tormentes the minde continually. And better it were to suffer without feare that which we expect in griefe and sorowe, then by feare to be alwayes in martyrdome. It is right terrible to fleshe and bloud to dye of a sworde, but

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to be in perpetuall sorrowe and disquiet of mind, is the verie furie and torment of hell.

If thou eschewest my presence, in feare that I wil not vse pittie to thee, thou art abused in the opinion of my disposition, and dost wrong to the reputation and experience of my actions past. For I neuer refused to shewe mercie to him that asked it, & much lesse deceiued him that put his trust in mee. The doubt and feare that thus do trauell thy mind, ought not to be so much of my person, as of the custome of fortune, who vseth not to vnlose her sharp arrowes with better wil against any then such, as think they be in best securitie of her: her nature being such, as not to meddle with those that shee findes prepared, the better to assure them, but followeth the fearfull & negligent, to the end to deceiue them: yea, she preuailes euen ouer the counsels and actions of men, and being exempt to make reckoning to any, her prerogatiue is to require accompt of all men. I assure thee Popilio, that more do I feare the reuolution of Fortune at this houre, then I doubted her before the battell. For shee delightes not so much to keepe vnder the vanquished, as to bridle and checke the victors. And worssle doeth shee meane, when shee smiles the fairest, then when shee frownes moste. But to speake on thy behalfe, I tell thee that without daunger thou maist resort to my presence, since in thy estate is no cause of suspicion, and in my hearte no malice to thy person: for in deede, that cannot be called true victorie, which bringeth not with it some clemencie. And therefore he cannot be called victorious, in whome resteth intent of rigour and crueltie. For, Alexander, Iulius Augustus, Titus, and Traianus, wonne more renowme by the clemencie they vsed to their enemies, then by all the victories they obtained in straunge regions. To obtaine a victorie is a thing naturall & humane,

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mane, but to giue pardon and life, is the gifte and blessing of God. By which it comes to passe, that men feare not so much the greatnesse of the immortall God, for the punishments he doth, as for the mercie he vseth. Notwithstanding as I cannot denie, but that great is the value & estimation, which we Romane Princes make of a victorie wonne by battell: so also I assure thee, wee holde it more honourable, to pardon such as do offend vs, then to chastice those that do resist our power.

Therefore, if thou flye from my presence as fearing the iustice which I haue executed vpon the Romanes, thou oughtest to take securitie and courage euen in that which makes thee gelous and doubtfull: for so muche greater ought to be clemencie, by howe much the offender is in fault. And therefore as there is no offence which cannot be either forgiven or fauoured, so right worthily may that pardon be called honourable and famous, which is giuen to an iniurie malicious and manifest, since all other common and light wrongs with greater reason we may say we dissemble them, then that we pardon the.

The thing that moste drawes mee to enter friendship with thee, is for that in our first capitulations and truce, thou perfourmedst all thinges that were concluded for the peace, and yet in the battell thou didest expresse the partes of a valiant Capteine, the same giuing me cause to belecue, that as in warre I founde thee a iust enimie, so in the time of peace, thou wouldest proue an assured friend. Alexander neuer repented the pardon he gaue to Diomedes the tyraunt, nor Marcus Antonius the fauour he shewed to the great Orator Cicero. Neither shall I haue cause (I hope) to forethink the respite I giue to thy life. For the noble mind, albeit he may haue occasion to be sorie for the vnthankfulness of his friend: yet hath he no licēce to repent him of his good turns done
for

for him: & therefore, in the case of liberalitie or clemencie, by howe much the person is vnworthy that receiue the benefite, by so much more he is to be commended that bestoweth it: for that onely may bee saide is giuen, when he that giueth, giueth without respect.

So that he that giueth in hope of recompense, deserueth not to be called liberall, but to pretend vsurie.

Thou knowest well that in the time of the battel, and whē the incounter was most hot, I offered thee nothing worthy of reproch: euen so, thou hast now to iudge, that if in the furie of the warre, thou foundest me faithfull, and mercifull, I haue nowe no reason, to exercise rigour, holding thee within the precinct of my house: so that if thou sawe mercie in mee at that instant, when thy handes were busie to spill my bloude, thinke not that my clemencie shal faile, calling thee to the fellowship of my table.

The prisoners of thy camp, can assure thee of my dealing, amongst whom the hurt are cured at my charges, & the deade are buried according to the place of souldiers: wherein if I extend this care vppon such as sought to spoile me, thinke there is farre greater plentie of grace, to thee that comest to serue me. And so leauing thee in the handes of thine owne counsell, I wishe thee those felicities, which thy honourable heart desireth.

Loe her a mirrour, meete to be perused by kinges and princes, wherein they may learne, with what consideration they should first enter into warres, with what valiaunce and courage they shoulde prosecute them, and with what iustice, temperaunce, and mercie, they should vse their enemies.

Capteines may likewise learne how to vse fortune, either when she fauours, either when she frownes.

But

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But leauing a great number of necessarie lessons, woꝛthie to be noted, howe is it possible in so fewe lines, moꝛe amply to describe y^e gloꝛie of the Romanes: neither are their vertues here so liuely painted foꝛth in woꝛds, as they them selues, did nobly shewe it in their deedes.

But all other examples of humanitie, amongst a great number vsed to their enimies, this in my opinion deserueth not the least commendation, that hauing taken Siphax king of Numancia, who being kept prisoner in the house of Tiberias, died of sicknesse before he was ransomed, notwithstanding now when there was no maner of hope of requitall, his funeralles were yet perfourmed, with such solemnitie, such pompe, and such honoꝛ, such large giftes were giuen, & such liberality vsed, being but a Romane prisoner, as might haue wanted at Numancia, where he was Lord and King ouer all. I haue thus farre bꝛiefely, and in this shoꝛt manner, shewed some small part of the magnificence of the Romans, in their Martiall actions, whereby may be perceiued, howe farre we be digressed, and how cleane we be degenerate at this present, from their honoꝛable institutions. For if we consider in these dayes, the impietie that is founde amongst Princes, whiche foꝛ the most part are so led by the furie of ambition, where they thinke they may oppresse, that without any other respect of cause they are redy to accompanie themselves, with a soꝛt of bloudie capteines, that shoulde haue the leading of a companie of as lewd and vngacious soldiers, and euen accoꝛding to their quarelles and to the qualitie of their owne dispositions, they prosecute their warres, and perfoꝛme all their enterprises, the whiche foꝛ the most part are executed with such treason, and trecherie, as no Prince almost may be so surely garded, but his life shalbe finished wth some deadly blowe with a
k. weapon,

Princes more
desireous with
tyranie to offend
others, than with
iustice to keepe
their owne.

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weapon, with some souldaine shot of a pistoll, or at the least practised with some secret poyson: neither is there any towne, that may be so surely walled, so strongly rampered, or so thoroughly fortified, which shall not be betrayed.

The manner
howe to pro-
quite warres in
these dayes.

Deceite hath
euer been holden
most hatefull,

By whom treche-
rie is chiefly
practised in
warres.

The best meane
to incite men to
valiaunce and
courage.

For in our warres we be now come to this passe, that fraud and deceipte is reputed for policie, and treason and trecherie are called grauitie and wisdom, and he is holden the noblest champion, that by any of these meanes can best deceiue: where, in the opinion of all men, whiche exactly doe honour iustice, it hath euer ben condemned, & accompted most horrible. And no doubt it cannot be acceptable in y^e sight & iudgement of God, who in y^e Scripture is called y^e God of trueth & veritie: but rather proceedeth from the diuell, who is (in dede) the father of fraude, and the forger of all deceipte.

And these enozmities haue euer bene especially practised amongst those y^e haue arreared warres, rather to oppresse and rauishe the goodes of others, then amongst suche as haue but defended their owne right, or entred into warres onely vppon causes of iustice and equitie, for that it hath bene euer holden a matter most inconvenient, of an honest quarell, to make an vnhonest victorie. Neither is there any meane moze rather, to incite men to valiaunce and courage, then when they shal remember, they goe to fight in a righteous cause, according to the opinion of Cicero. Therefore (saith he) manlinesse is well defended of the Stoikes, where they say it is a vertue, that fighteth in defence of equitie: Wherefore no man that hath attained the glorie of manlinesse, hath euer got prayse, by wylie traines and craftines, for nothing may be honest, that is voyde of iustice.

And proceeding further in the same place, he expresth a saying of Plato, tending to the same effect, whiche
is

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is this.

That not onely the knowledge which is seuered from iustice is rather to be called subtiltie, then wisdom, but also the courage which is forward to daunger, if it be set on for our owne greedinesse, and not for a common profit, may rather beare the name of lewd hardinesse, then of manlinesse.

And for as muche as my selfe about a thre yeares sithens, did set forth a booke intituled (A dialogue betweene Mercurie and an Englishe Souldier) wherein I haue described, what mildnesse shoulde be mixt with this manhood, with many mo examples of humanitie, and sundrie other vertues, wherewith noble capteins shoulde be indued, I will therefore omit to vse any further circumstance in those causes, neither will I further speake of the decay of Martiall discipline in generall, but of certaine private abuses, that are vsed amongst our selues in Englande, in our institutions in the time of warre, but especially in the election of our capteines, for the most part, and our ordinarie manner of appointing of souldiers, the whiche although I haue likewise in the same booke before mentioned, something touched, yet in my opinion, there cannot be too muche said, considering the peril that might insue by so great a negligence, and so ordinarily committed.

Great abuse in England both in choosing of capteines and in appointing of souldiers.

To speake generally of our capteines, they are many times appointed more for fauour then for knowlege more for friendship then for experience, and more for affection bozne then by some noble man, then either for valiance or vertue: for they are not to be accompted valiant, that will offer them selues into daunger without iudgement: but rather to be esteemed men puffed up with a vaine desire, and prickt forwardes with a kind of desperate boldnesse.

Not valiaunce but folishe hardinesse.

B. G.

Aristotle

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Aristotle woulde in no wise that Diomedes, shoulde be reputed either valiant or wise : for that when the Greekes were put to flight, he remained alone, and aduentured him selfe against the force of Hector, which he rather did to seeke the vaine praise, and bzte of the people, because he would not be accounted a runneaway, then in respecte of the true and soueraigne good, wherein consisteth the end of vertue, and the glozy immortal.

In like maner he iudged of Hector, who many times beholding his wife, and other women standing vppon the walles of Troy, woulde moze boldly and courageously aduenture his life, hauing greater care, least any rumours might haue bene raised by women to his dishonour, then otherwise he would haue done, to haue deserved the title of true honour and vertue.

But what would Aristotle iudge, of a many of our gentlemen in Englande, that will take vpon them to be capteines & conductours, that God knoweth are vtterly ignorant, in the least duetie that apperteineth to a simple souldier : And howe many times doth it fall out, that where battelles be ordered, by such rashe and harebrained gouernours, that they ordinarily doe bringe forth but vnhappie issues?

What auailed the boldnes of Varro, and Flaminius, two Romane capteines, which despising the prowesse & crafte of Hanibal, and contemning the sober counsell of Fabius, hauing onely trust in their owne hardines, lost two noble armies whereby the power of the Romanes, was nere vtterly perished?

They are therefore farre from the true praise of valiaunce in deede, that will so rashly runne, to hazarde the selues without any maner of knowledge. We be of this opinion in England, (& else where,) that a man may
not

What auaileth
boldnes without
experience.

of Martiall discipline.

not come to be exactly perfected, in y^e meanest occupati-
on without seauen yeares practise, and therfore ordina-
rily, suche as binde their children apprentices, binde
them for that space: Is it possible then that the art of
warre should be so soudenly learned, wherein yet there Neuer so perfect
a souldier, but
hath bene to
learne.
hath not bene any one founte, though he haue followed
the warres all the dayes of his life, which hath not been
in some things to seeke: Philip king of Macedonia,
maruelled why y^e Atheniens did euery yeare chouse new
Generalles and Capteines of their warrs, sithens he in
all his life had found but one good, whiche was Parme-
nio. Plato would not wishe, that any man should haue
authoritie in warres, till he were 30. yeares olde.

But Alexander admitted none to the rōme of a cap-
teine, that was vnder the age of 60. finally by the gene-
rall assent of all, there ought no small regarde to be vsed
in the choosing of Capteines. Cicero prescribeth foure What is requisite
in a capteine,
things that ought to be in a Capteine, but especially in
a gouernour or general, which is experience, valiaunce,
authoritie, and felicitie, to the whiche if you adde these
foure moze, which is iustice, fortitude, policie, and tem-
perance, first iustice to reuenge, fortitude to execute re-
uengment, policie to prepare the meane whereby to re-
uenge, and temperaunce to limit and measure out how
far they ought to reuenge: capteines thus indued with
these vertues, there is no doubt but they shall greatly
preuaile.

Our maner of appointing of souldiers, is yet moze How souldiers
be appoynted in
England.
confused then the rest, they be appointed in the countrie
as it pleaseth Maister Constable: for if there be any
within his circuit, that he is in displeasure withall, he
thinks it some part of reuenge, if he sets him forth to be
a souldier, but if Maister Constable be in loue & charitie
with his neighbours, then some odde fellowe muste be
picked

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picked out that doth least good in the parish, it is no matter for his conditions, they thinke he can not be too yll to make a souldier of. In London when they set forth souldiers, either they scour their prisons of theues, or their streates of roges and vagabondes, for he that is bound to find a man, will takee suche a one as were better lost then found: but they care not, so they may haue them good cheape, what he is, nor from whence he comes, they put him in a sute of blew, and bring him before maister warden of their companie, and then if he can shoote in a gonne, he is bield a gonner, but he dares not lette his souldier goe out of his sight with his furniture and his newe apparell, before he hath deliuered him ouer to his Capteine, for if he should, he might fortune to misse him when he would haue him.

He that would further see the manner of our appointing of capteines and souldiers, both how they be and how they ought to be appoynted let him peruse a booke intituled, A dialogue betweene Mercurie and an English souldier, whiche booke was of my owne setting forth.

These be they through whose abuses, the name of a souldier is become so odious to the common people: God graunt vs, that we be neuer driuen to trie the seruice of suche souldiers. But bicause in my other booke before mentioned, I haue more effectually spoken of souldiers, and haue giuen speciall note howe souldiers shoulde be chosen, whiche maketh me thus briefly to passe them ouer: and in like manner I haue done of capteines, there resteth now, to shewe what seueritie should be vsed, in punishing of such as be mutiners, or by any maner of meane, wil breake or infringe the lawes & order of armes, or any other institution or ordinance, directed by the general capteine or any other officer, for what shal it auaille to make good orders, vnles they shuld be surely kept?

Num. 1. Cap. 16.
Mutinie in souldiers punished by God.

In the booke of Numeric, we doe finde how Corath, Dathan, and Abiram, were swallowed vp in the earth, for mutining against the capteine Moses, an euident prooue wherby may be perceiued, how odious it is in the sight

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sight of God, that souldiers should rebell against their capteines : They ought therefore to be restrained with sharp & bitter punishmentes, and that as often as they shall transgresse, or make any offences.

But I woulde not in any wise wishe, that a souldier should be punished by the purse, or that his pay shoulde be diminished, whereby he should not be able to mainteine him selfe in seruice: other punishmentes therefore ought to be prouided, according to the qualitie of their offences.

Manlius Torquatus caused his sonnes head to be striken off, because he had forsaken the place whereto he was appoynted : although he went to fight with an enimie that had challenged him, and slew him.

Salust doth report, y^e there were moze souldiers put to death amongst the Romanes, for setting on their enimies before they had licence, then for running out of the fielde before they had fought.

And in very deed, in that respect there ought no litle regarde to be vsed: for it is not requisite, that euery priuate capteine, or any other, should rashly enter into attemptes, of their owne heades, further then they be directed : for otherwise, they commonly conclude with unhappie ends, & many times it doth fall out, that when there is some exploite to be vsed, through the wilfulness of some harebrained capteine, or any other that is moze forwarde then wise, that will aduenture for his owne glorie, further then his direction, it bringeth ouerthrow of altogether. For example. When y^e Spaniards lay in siege at Zurickzeas, y^e Prince of Orenge, by good espiall, had vnderstanding where to annoy them, he sent certeine bands into S. Anna land, where they shuld haue fortified the selues, in y^e seueral places vpon y^e ditches, which they might wel haue don, considering y^e nature & situation of y^e place,

The decay

place, by whiche meanes the passage by lande shoulde haue been quite cut off, that no victuals could haue come to the campe by lande: and by sea it was as well guarded, with the Princes shippes. These companies coming thither by sea, landed, and did take the places to the whiche they were directed, nowe when they shoulde haue fallen to fortifying, and to haue made them selues strong: the one of the companies, perswaded by two or three Duche capteines, which were amongst them (as there was in the companie both Englishe, French, Wal- lan, Scotishe, and Duche) woulde needes goe charge certeine Spaniards, whiche did lie hard by them, in a streight they had made: although there were some that foresawe what daunger might insue, of this pretence, yet they woulde vse no dissuasions; bicause it woulde haue bene coniectured, that it had rather proceeded of want of courage, then for any other thing. There was no delay in the matter, but the charge was given with courage ynough, but so muche to their costes, as the Spaniards at that charge, ouerthrew the greatest part of their best and principall men. I wil not say they were Englishe men, because I haue learned them the best and principall men. I might be thought to speake partially. But yet the matter being so lately done, and so well knowen, I neede not doubt to tell the trueth, they were Englishe men in deed, that receiued the greatest ouerthrowe: for howe coulde it otherwise fall out, they were the foremost that were in the fray: nowe the Spaniards perceiuing what spoyle they had giuen, followed the chace of the rest, killing and spoiling of them as they retired, til they were come to a slender strength, that was cast vp, whiche the Spaniardes had entred, had it not bene valiauntly defended, by the rest of the Englishe men that were left, who in the ende, as the
Spaniards

of Martiall discipline.

Spaniards did retire, contragiously pursued them againe to their owne strength. By this foolish attempt, this companie was made so weake and so feeble, that they were driuen to forsake the ground, and to get them againe aboord of their shippes, and the Spaniards sent presently thither a fresh supply of men, by which means the Prince could neuer get the like opportunitie againe. The other companie kepte the strength five or sixe dayes, in the end gaue it ouer, and came away: for that it was to small purpose, considering the losse of the first. There were manie like parts played in those Holland seruices, where I thinke as little Martiall discipline was vsed, as in any warres that euer were attempted: Neither had it bene possible that the countrie coulde so long haue holden out, but that it was by nature seated so strong: for they might so draine the countrie about them, that it was not possible that any enimie shoulde conquer them. The Prince him selfe was verie wise & politike in all his directions, but many times they had but unhappie successe, by the rashnesse of some of his Capteines, which onely did procede for want of experience. For many of them were chosen after the English manner, I meane they had little knowledge, what them selues ought to do, & lesse experience howe to rule their souldiers. But leauing Holland causes, & to returne againe to the examples of the Romanes, who I say were verie seuerer in the punishing of those offences, & the rather to keepe their souldiers vnder awe & discipline, they adioyned to their owne lawes & ordinances, the authoritie of God, and vsed with greate ceremonies to make them sweare to keepe the disciplines of warre. Cicero maketh mention howe Pompilius, when he was general of the Romanes in the Persian warres, had discharged one legion, in the which Catoes sonne had ser-

The Romanes
vsed to adioyne
the authoritie
of God to their
owne prescrip-
tions, the better
to keepe their
souldiers in
awe.

The decay

ued for a souldier, and notwithstanding that he was discharged, he remained yet amongst the other souldiers, desirous to see the warres: which Cato vnderstanding, did write to Pompilius, that if he would suffer his son to remaine in the armie, he shoulde sweare him souldier againe, because it was not otherwise lawfull for his sonne to fight with the enimie, being discharged from his former othe, if did likewise discharge him for being a souldier. The Grecians vsed to sweare their souldiers in this manner, being armed they were brought to the church, where they receiued this othe following. I will not do any thing vnworthie the sacred and holie warres, neither will I abandon or forsake my bande and Capteine, to whome I am appointed. I will fight for the right of the Church, and safetie of the state. I will not make my countrie to be in worse case then it is: but I wil make it better then I found it. And I will euer frame my selfe reuerently to obey such orders as are decreed and adiudged: and to lawes established I will still yeld my selfe: and obey those lawes also, that the state hereafter, shall by common assent, enacte or set foorth: that if any one man shall chaunge the lawes or not obey them, I wil not suffer him to my power, much lesse will I allow in so doing: But I wil be a sure defender of right, as well by my selfe alone, as when I am with others: And I will euer more honour the religion of my countrie: to these my sayinges, I call the gods to witnesse. If this othe were thoroughly considered on among vs in England, it might peraduenture bring many to haue a better opinion of souldiers. For what profession may be more honorable, then where a man shall be so solemnely sworne, to offer himselfe as it were to martyrdom for the maintenance of religion: and with the like vow doth professe to defende the lawes and liberties of his countrie, with the price

The oth that
the Grecians
gaue to their
souldiers.

No profession
more honorable
then a souldier.

of Martiall discipline.

price of his blood, and the hazard of his life.

But especially by this example, both of the Romans and Grecians, may verie well be coniectured, that as they had such consideration to swear their souldiers, & men of warre, they would vse the like respect and care, in the choosing of such as had regarde of their oth, for othe otherwise as good vnsworne, as to minister an othe vnto such as care not to be foresworne. But what othe might be ministred vnto our souldiers, as they be ordinarily chosen in England, or by what gods might they be made to swear by, that stande in awe of none at all, neither yet are inclined to any manner of religion?

But if this example in choosing of souldiers were vnsed, and that in the time of seruice such might be appointed, as shoulde be founde to be honest, zealous in religion, and that had the feare of God befoze their eyes, there is no question, but the disciplines of warre woulde be moze better obserued, and capteines shoulde haue the greater obedience and gouernement of their souldiers, whereby we might the better prosper in our warrs, according to the opinion of Xenophon, who saith, That souldier which first serueth God, and then obeyeth his capteine, may boldly with all courage, hope to overthrowe his enimie.

And Alexander Seuerus saith, The strength of war lieth in the souldier, whose grettest vertue consisteth in obedience towards his capteine. When Scipio went into Affrica, to destroy Carthage, resting his armie by the way in Sicilia, a noble mā of y^e countrie, seeing his souldiers exercising the feates of arms, demanded of Scipio wherein lay his chiefe hope to overcome Carthage, who answered, in yonder felowes that you se, whom if I command to runne to y^e top of this high castel, & to cast themselves backward vppon y^e rocks, they will not refuse, they are in such obedience.

Obedience the
greatest vertue
that may be in
souldiers.

L.ij.

Xenophon

The decay

Xenophon maketh mention of a souldier, who in a skirmishe hauing ouerthrowne an enimie, as hee was aduancing his weapon to haue slaine him, the trumpet sounded a retreat, wherewith the souldier stayed his blowe, and retired himselfe, this being espied by some of the companie that was nexte vnto him, demanded what he ment to let his enimie so to passe, hauing him at such aduantage: the souldier answered, because (quoth he) I doe holde it farre more honorable, to obey my capteine then to kill my enimie. A noble saying of a souldier, and worthy to be had in perpetuall memorie.

A good lesson
for souldiers to
learne.

How obedience
is nourished in
souldiers.

This obedience in souldiers is nourished by feare & lone: feare is kepte by true iustice and equitie: lone is gotten by wisdomes ioyned with liberalitie: for that capteine, that with such righteousnesse can so rule his souldiers, that he wil suffer them, neither to doe wrong, neither to receiue iniurie, but with wisdomes & liberalitie will mainteine him in that whiche is right, that Capteine must needes be loued and feared of his souldiers, of the which proceedeth true and vnfeigned obedience.

Disciplin of war
best mainteined
where souldiers
be kept paid &
punished.

Thus to conclude, the armie that should be continued in order and discipline, must be kepte well paid, and surely punished: for many times where slacknes of payment is vsed, it turneth into greate inconueniences: & I cannot thinke, but it was the onely cause, that losse king Philip the lowe countries: for when the Spaniards had taken Zurickzeas, it did so amaze and daunt the states of Holland, as it was thought and looked for, that they rather would haue submitted them selues to the kings merite, and haue sought by reuersion, to haue receiued the Spaniards againe, then otherwise to haue made hed against them: and there were diuerse towne, as Tregoc for one, where the chiefe Burgers

of Martiall discipline.

had sought sundrie meanes to haue surrendered them selues vnto the Spaniardes.

The Prince was then in Zeland, in the Isle which is called by the name of Waulkerland, which is the Isle wherein Middleborough, Flushing, Camphyre, & Ar-mue are seated, and there it was thought he would haue remained, they neuer looked for him moze in Holland. And while the Hollanders were thus in the midst of their dumps, listening euer when y^e Spaniardes should haue taken y^e Plaate Island, which was hard adioyning vppon Zurickzeas, wherein laye a fewe faint bandes (God knowes) to small purpose: From thence the Bryel Island was nexte adioyning, the which coulde not haue bene defended, if the Spaniardes had once bene commaunders of the Plaate. The firste thing the Spaniardes would there haue sought for, should haue been the Bryel head, which is nowe verie strongly fortified, but at y^e instant nothing begun: which if they had once takē, Holland had bene no longer able to haue holden out, for their trade by sea would haue bene soudeinly cutte off, without the which they may not endure, considering it is the onely wealth of all their towne, that are to bee accompted of, as Skeydame, Delftes haven, Roterdame, Delfte, Dorte, Gorcom, all these with many other, standing vppon the riuer called the Maase, would haue been shut vp, that they should haue had no traffike or passage to the sea.

Thus (as I saide) as the Hollanders were in these muses, coniecturing with themselves, that this (indeede) was the marke which the Spaniardes shotte at, neither wist they howe to prevent it: for the taking of Zurickzeas had so quailed their courages, & nowe their malice and their money was wel nigh spent, that they were hardly able to pay those souldiers they had retei-

of Martiall discipline.

ned. In so much that a great number of them were providing what they were able to make, to packe them into England. But in the midst of this perplexitie, and when they were moste amazed with this terrour, the Spaniards which were entred Zurickzeas fel in a mutinie amongst them selues for a paye which had bene of long time behinde, protesting that they would neuer prosecute further service, befoze they were paid: thus they discontinued service, forsaking so good occasion, which euen then had happened vnto them. In the ende, hauing layd a platte amongst them selues, for the pacifying of these matters, all their practises were laide open and manifest, by letters which were intercepted, by those of Bridges, whereby Flaunders and Brabant, presently put them selues in armes against them, and were nowe of friends become mortal enemies: by which meanes the Spaniards were driuen to drawe them selues from all partes into one maine strength. The Prince of Orange in the meane while, followed no time, but he recovered Zurickzeas againe, with Harlam, Vtricke, Sconchouen, Hardame, with diuerse other townes in Holand, which befoze were in the possessions of the Spaniards, the sequele of the matter is so well knowne, as I neede not spend the time to reherse. Thus gentle reader, trusting thou wilt accepte in good parte these lines, the which I knowe to be more conuenient, and necessarie, then learned, or eloquent, and when my time and occasion shall better serue mee, I wil not fozeallowe some other thing, the which I trust shall be more to thy liking.

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